174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

174 It is still an open question whether the people called
the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu.
144 Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern
Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differred from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

221 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in
184 Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing
stage." By the time records of them began to appear
[241] they were already engaged in crude agriculture with
millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products.
This was in the southwestern part of the island where
climatic conditions were favorable and where they came
in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts
[231] of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals,
were used and the people had progressed from the
stage where they relied on natural food to growing food
themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily
262 due to the influence of neighboring peoples and
food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources,
the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only
supplements, so that they were still a hunting and
fishing people. Their food, which was very simply
prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting
and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1]
● 291 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles
from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth]
[286] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods
used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques
[288] were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2]
[177] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal
skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which
were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish,
had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3]
and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

---

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

119 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period 181 of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and 648 Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.* To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in th[illegible]*DE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, ● [291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

---

[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] * Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

[P. 14 (A)]

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
[291] tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to
[323] the point where the method of making this ware was
forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
[227] improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
[412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
and more varied. Significant was the development of
178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products
were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
over the winter.[18]

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
[184] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
[262] and skin clothing during the winters. These people
were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
[291] fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people
[492] still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
techniques that were to prepare them for either an
agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.
439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
[177] infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
hitherto they had used only for the production of the
necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.
439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
556 gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords.
lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under
[681] the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes
——— in lieu of the death penalty

---

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

[P. 14(B)]

423 hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring
226 bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in
Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki*
[224] *Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki*
[*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance
of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing
in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo
make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band
[476] and fish in rivers and at the shore."[25] The Pannakuro
area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing
ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the
lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

476 This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization
as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu*
[Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A
country was like a district, a district like a village, a
family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated
and they distributed to those unable to work."
In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> 476 There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they
> 183 built their own houses, cutting down available trees and
> grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes,
> [926] they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth
> which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It
> [341] has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation
> [291] but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after
> the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the
> [261] poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed
> alone. They dined together and shared what they had
> [264] to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very
> little food it was given to the old or to the children. For
> [858] the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one
> to look after them food was carried to them at each meal.
> [888] Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from
> fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat
> as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*[27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter
> how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a
> [276] smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After
> one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine
> [273] was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of
226 the villages went out to fish during the salmon season
and distributed their catch among all and when someone
224 killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a
43 long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting
him with homemade millet cakes, would be
given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed
was cooked and the people went to the home of the
hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the
[602] portion of meat given might differ according to the

---

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

A
E
*648
*175
439
[184]
● [291]

cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

A
E
*648
*175
439
661

1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

---

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

A *648 Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw 177 sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and *175 punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records A [241] showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon A [243] event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was A [191] forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

A *648 177 185 ●291 The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own A [515] set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

A *648 *175 I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

F A *648 *175 441

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

---

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

A
F
*648
*175
185

> treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

A
F
[439]

> However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten ri in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues[e] and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

A
● [291]

The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

---

[e] Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

[P. 55 (A)]

A F *648 *175 251 657 [931]

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

A F *648 *175 731 657 [511]

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

A 758 [759] A [756] A [164] [177] A *648 758 *175

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

---

[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [565] [562] ● [291] F [657]

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki, SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

000 A F *648 682 671 177 *175 distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.[51] The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.[52] This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.[53]

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

A F *648 177 *175 The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. A [291] The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. A [301] [304] In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. A [262] [241] It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat[54] while the traditions of *Mekkakiri*[55] and the bear festival were prohibited.[56]

---

[51] Mogami Tokunai, Akkeshi Ran moshiage (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

[52] Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki sani kotae moshiage sōrō (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

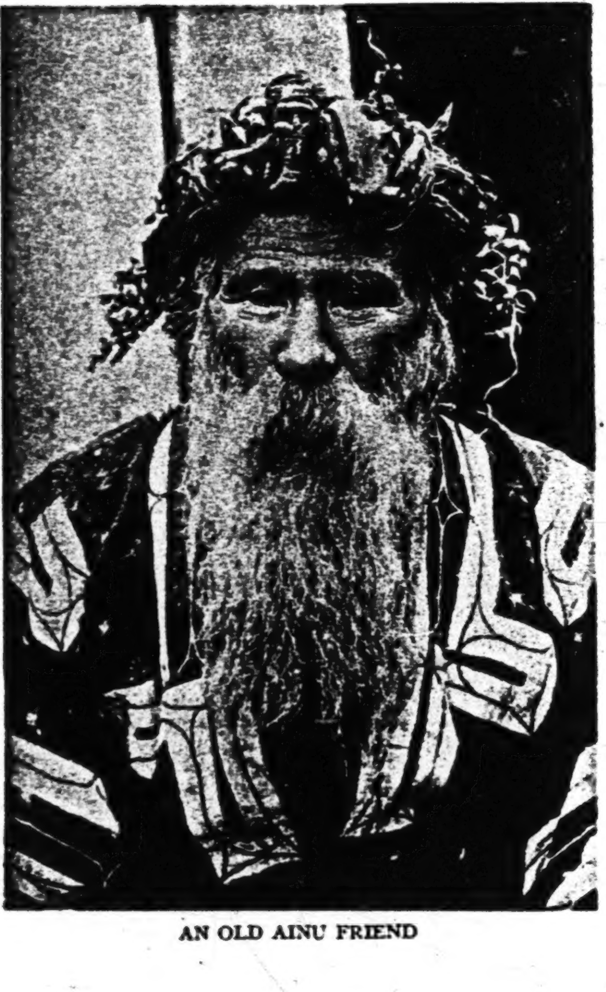
[53] Takakura Shinichirō, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hōritsu Shunjū* 5 (4).

[54] Ezochi Goyoshuii shikaimuki mōshiwatasari sōrō.

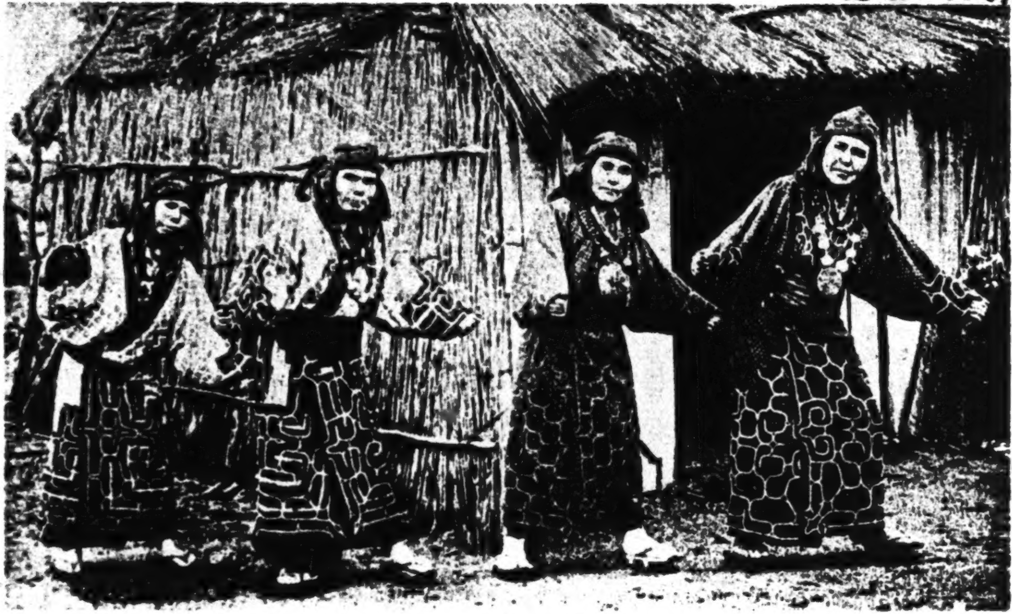
A [765] [55] According to *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 475, *Mekkakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

[P. 77(A)]

888
● 291
301
302
142



AN OLD AINU FRIEND



AINU WOMEN DANCING

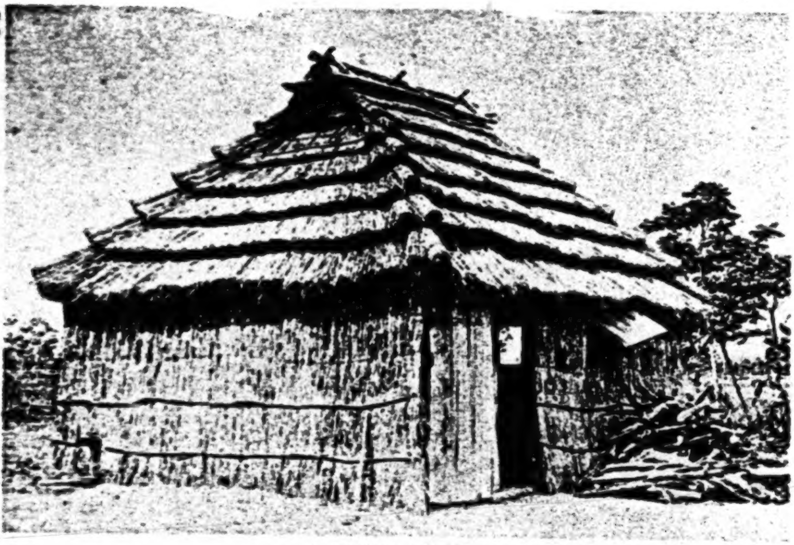
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

535
562
291
293
342

[P.14 (A)]

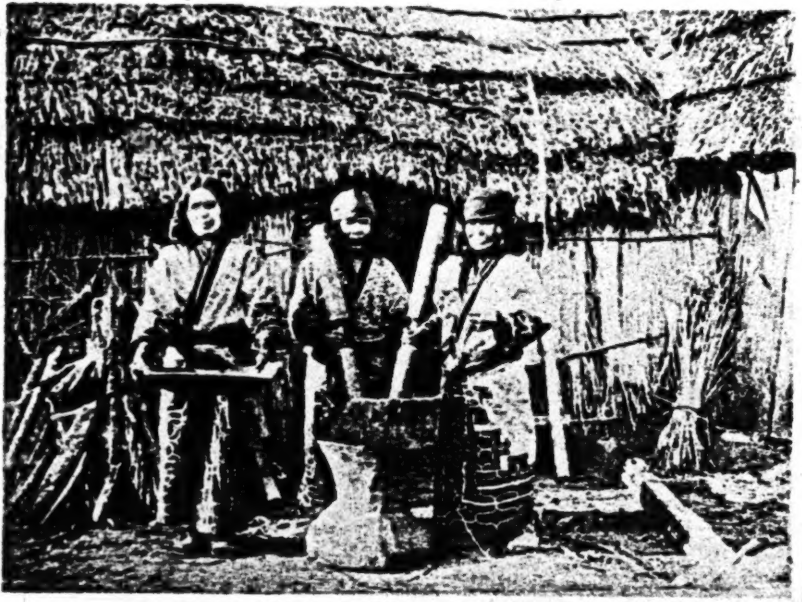
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342



A SMALL HUT

462
416
302
● 291

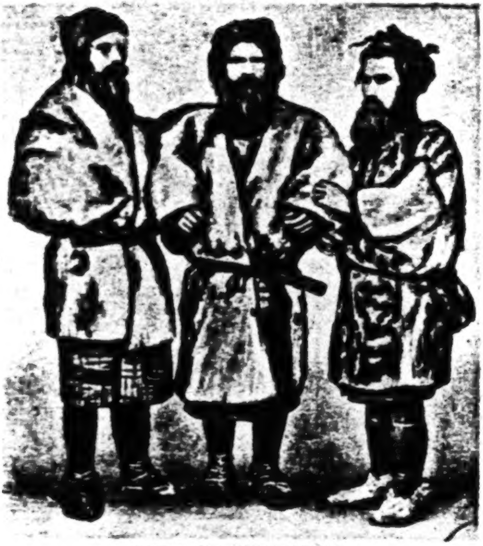


WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

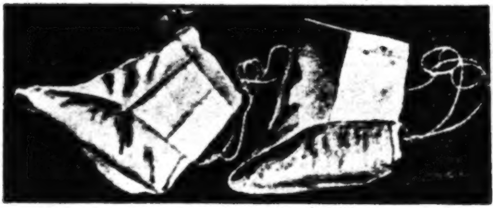
[P.34]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302



WINTER CLOTHING



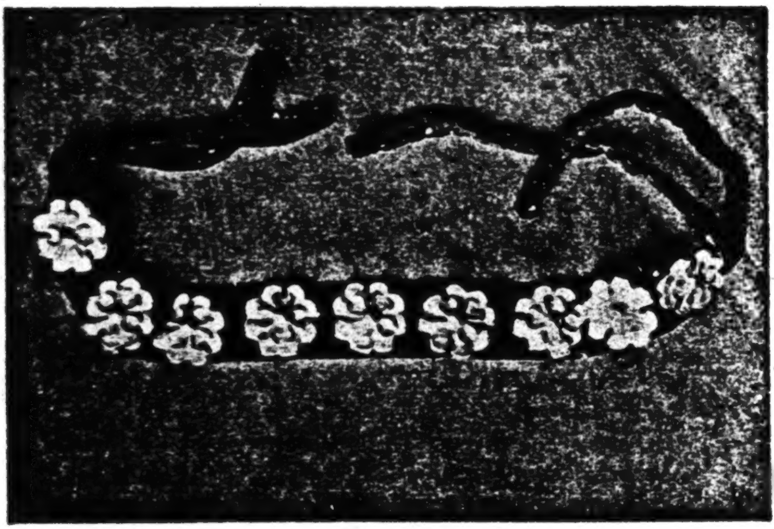
SALMON-SKIN SHOES

SANDALS

[P. 52(A)]

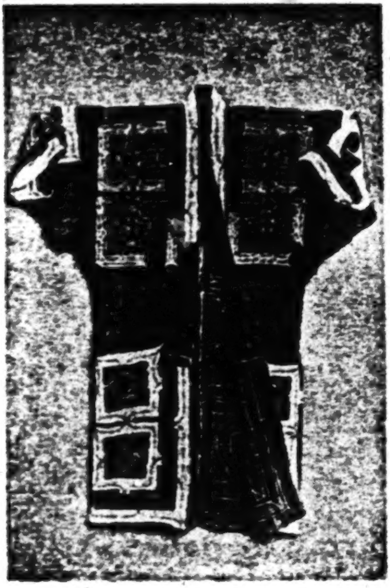
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

301

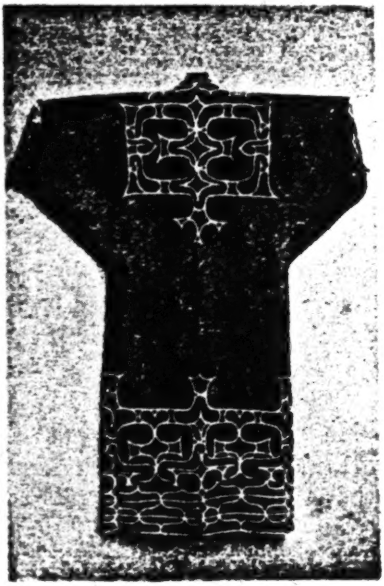


A GIRL'S NECKLACE MADE OF MELTED LEAD

291



A MAN'S COAT



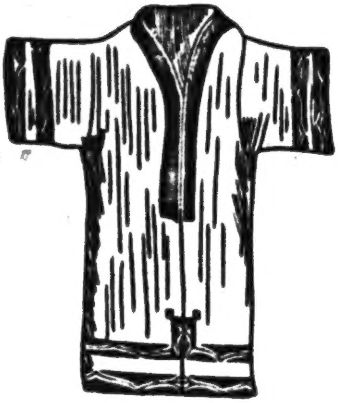
A WOMAN'S COAT

[P.54(A)]

CHAPTER VIII

CLOTHING

The chief article of clothing worn by the Ainu from 291
ancient times was a coat made of elm bark fibre reaching nearly down to the ankles, and called *attush*. This was kept in place by a girdle made of the same material. The belt used by the Saghalien Ainu, how- [293]
ever, was often of leather and ornamented with brass rings obtained from Manchuria. The coats were very coarse and somewhat brittle when dry, but very strong when wet. The finer kind, however, was made of nettle bast.



ELM FIBRE COAT

The bark was peeled off the elms in the early 287
spring or just before the winter set in. As a defence against bears, the men and women went in companies

287 into the mountains to get the bark, and when enough had been taken they carried it home and put it to soak in warm water. After about a week or ten days, the stuff had become quite soft and the women then separated the inner layers from the outer. The whole was then divided into threads and wound up into balls for weaving or for manufacturing into sewing thread. Thread manufacture was quite a simple affair, for it was done by chewing it with the teeth. Many an evening hour have I sat and watched, in a dim light, Mrs. Penri patiently chewing the fibre into thread. To see her jaws working incessantly up and down, up and down, as she chewed and chewed and chewed again, was to me as pleasing and comely a sight as watching people "chewing gum" today! Some of the garments I saw were much darker in colour than [386] others. This was because they were dyed. The dyeing was done by steeping in a warm decoction of oak or alder bark, and in some cases by putting them to soak in marshy places. This gave them a dirty reddish colour and they were then called *kunnep*, which means "black things."

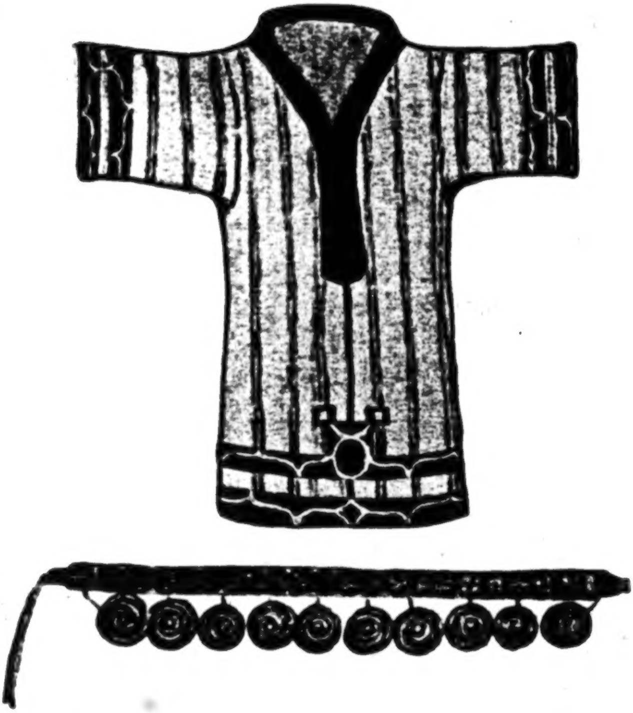
● 291 The women and girls wore, under their outer garments, smocks made of soft Japanese material, reaching down to the knees. This was called *mouru*, i.e. "soft raiment." The men wore no shirts.

During the winter months all dressed in the skins of such animals as dogs, deer, foxes, badgers, bears, otters, martens, seals and birds. They were often sewn on a background of the fibre garments mentioned above, or on Japanese material.

During the summertime all wore leggings made of sedge or bark. This was in order to protect them from flies and other insects. Those worn in the winter were made of skin. For foot-gear they wore in mild weather sandals made of bark and vines, and shoes made from the skins of salmons. These were good for walking on the ice, as they were very rough. Straw

● 291

292



ELM BAST GARMENT AND LEATHER BELT ORNAMENTED WITH BRASS RINGS (WOMEN'S CLOTHING)
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made
of wood and thongs of skins.

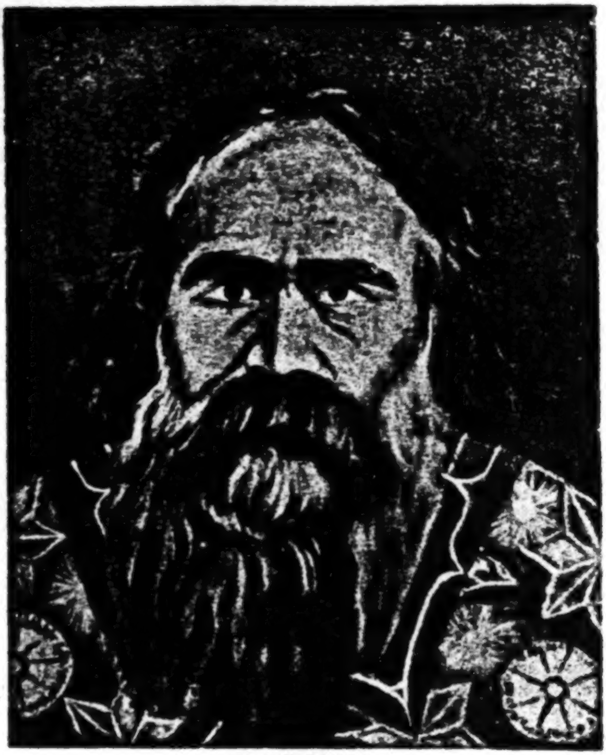
The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and [888
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 589]
The women were very proud of their fancy needlework, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cottons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from memory, and some of the women and girls were very expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree; but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now, once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre. They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a good tree. At last they came to a place where there stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people came up to it—to this very king of elms—and commenced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for, alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

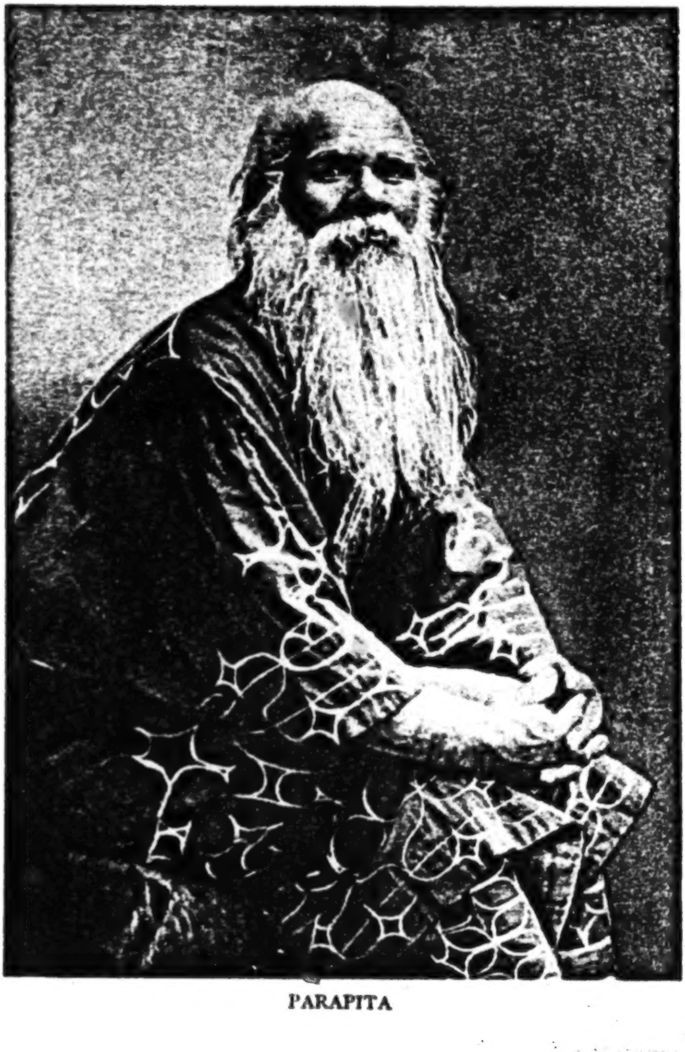
622
302
142
291



CHIEF PENRI

[p. 58(A)]

302
● 291
516

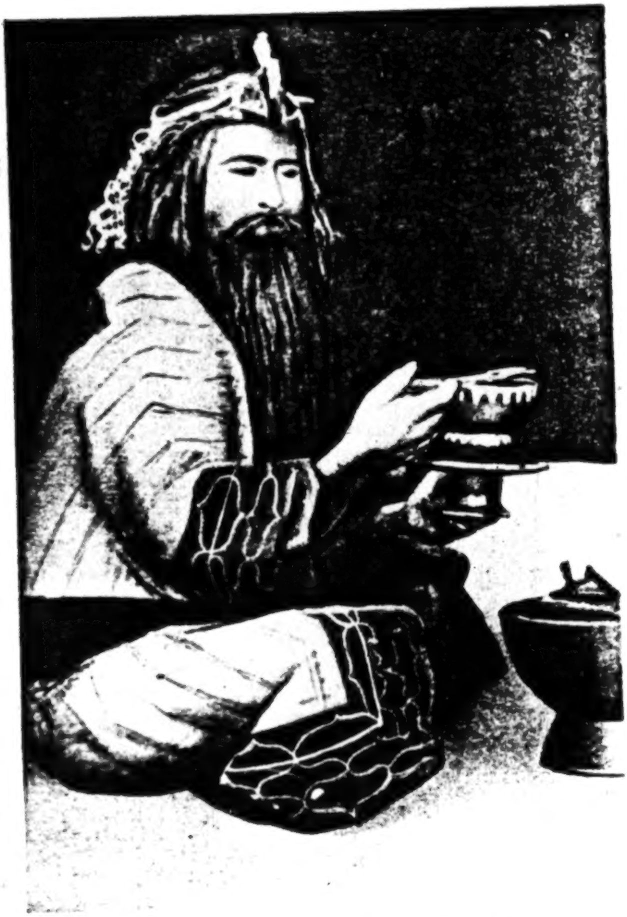


PARAPITA

[p.96]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

776
782
516
●291
415
771
293

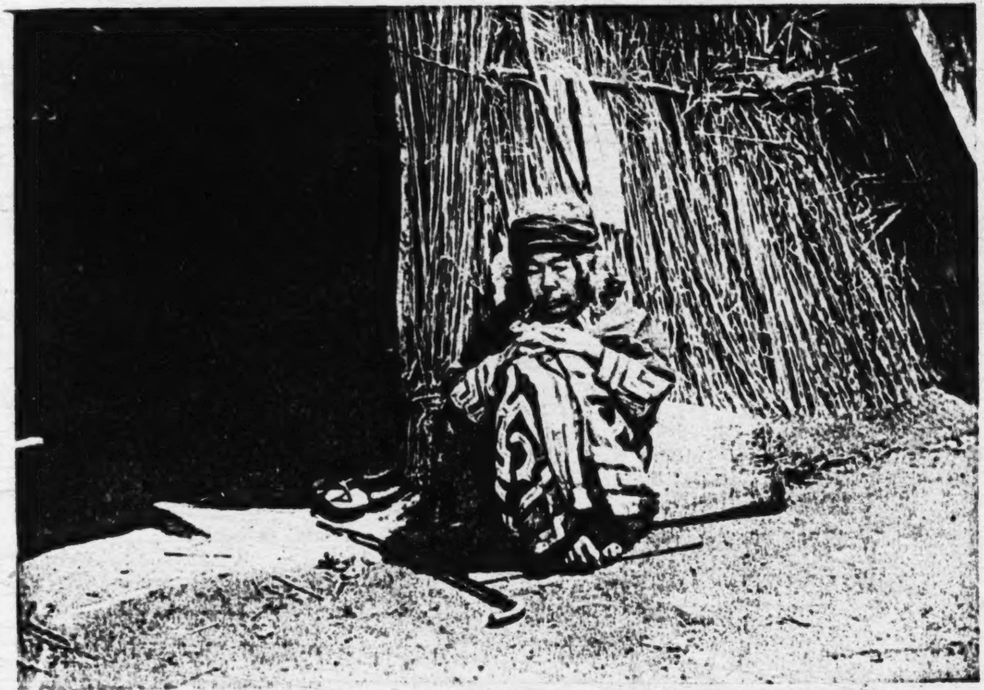


AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

[p. 112]

516
142
291

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

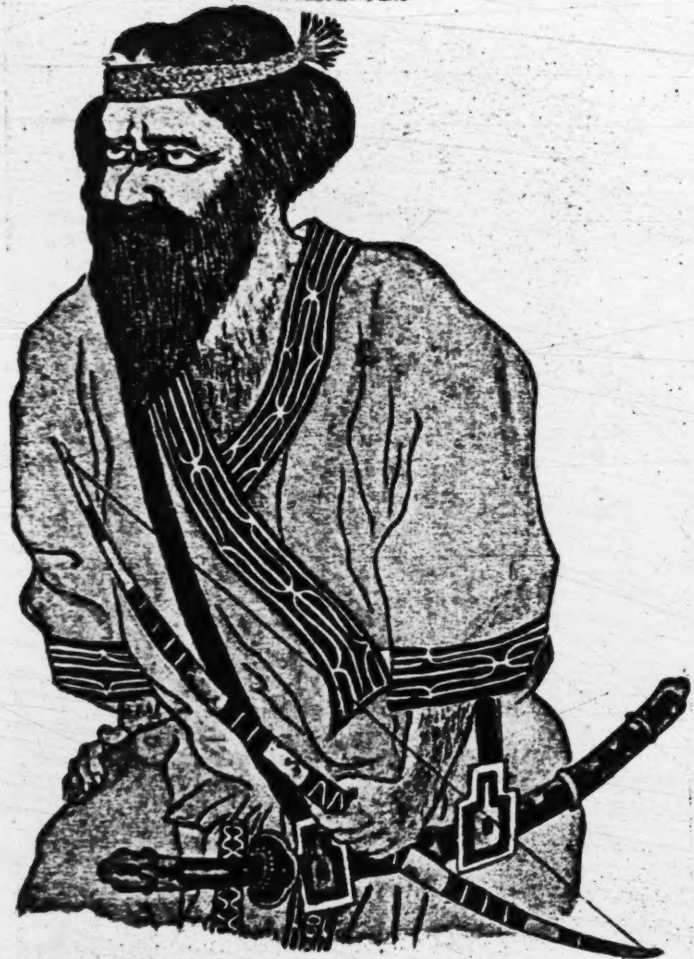


OLD MRS. BRIGHT, CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER-IN-LAW

[P. 116(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
● 291
411
516



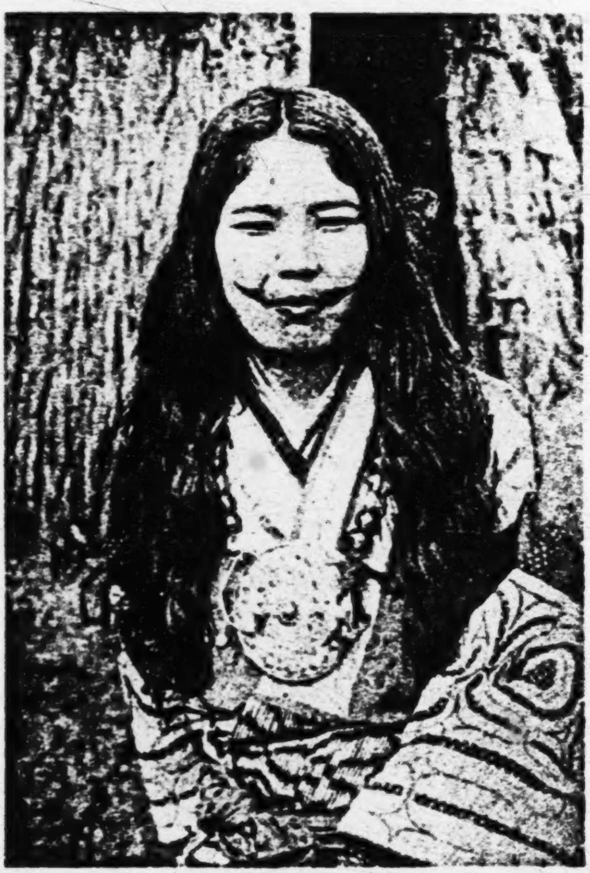
A JAPANESE DRAWING OF AN OLD AINU WARRIOR

[P. 126 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

882
562
●291
293
302
301



DRESSED IN HER BEST

[p. 134 (A)]

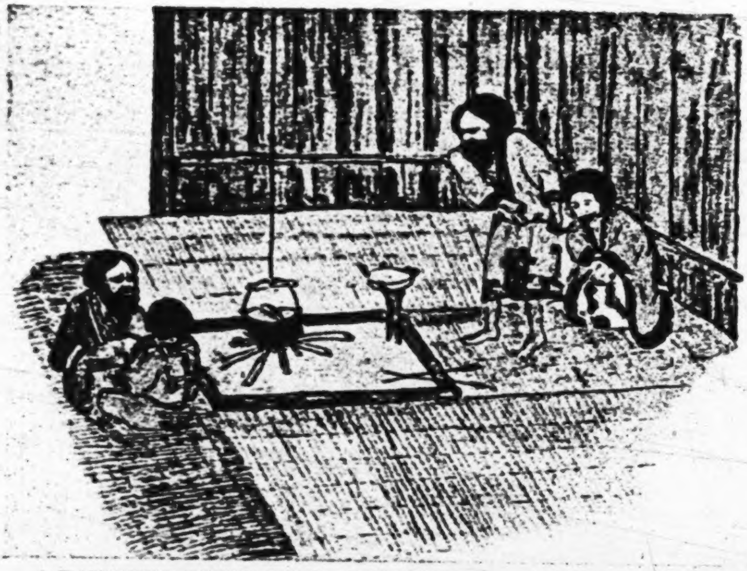
539 "'At daybreak my husband and his younger brother arose and had breakfast, and then went off to catch trout. As they were about to start my younger sister said to them, "Do not go away, but stay at home for this one day. Do not leave the house. Yesterday your wife went to gather tubers, and when she returned I saw her face and remarked that her countenance was quite changed. So please stay in today." Although my younger sister urged this, yet the men would not hearken, but started off fishing."

The story continues in the words of the younger sister, "'I remained at home with my elder sister. I saw her fill a birchbark vessel full to the brim, heaped well up with some of the special food she had made. She then dressed herself in her new and very best [291 301] garments. She then put her ear-rings into her earholes and fastened on her belt ornamented with brass rings. Having done all this, she went out of the house carrying with her the bark vessel filled with food. As she passed out she said to me, "Come into the backyard with me," and added, "When I went yesterday to get tubers I met a man. He asked me to marry him and I consented to do so. So he and I have become husband and wife. Watch and see whither I go into the forest." So I went out with her.

"'On looking round, I saw a young man with a black beard standing behind the fetishes. He beckoned to my sister and she went to him. Upon reaching him, she gave him the vessel of food which he soon ate all up. When he had finished it, he gave his wife a slap with his hand, upon which she immediately changed into a she-bear; he then likewise slapped himself and forthwith became a he-bear. He then gave his wife another slap and she followed him off into the forest. They went following one another. Having seen all this, I returned to the house and waited for the menfolk to come home.

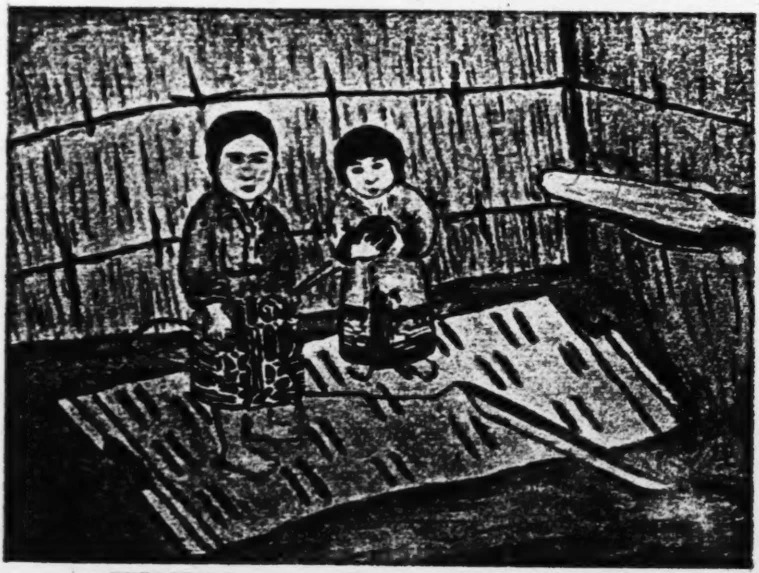
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342
585
516
354
252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE (Old Japanese Drawing)

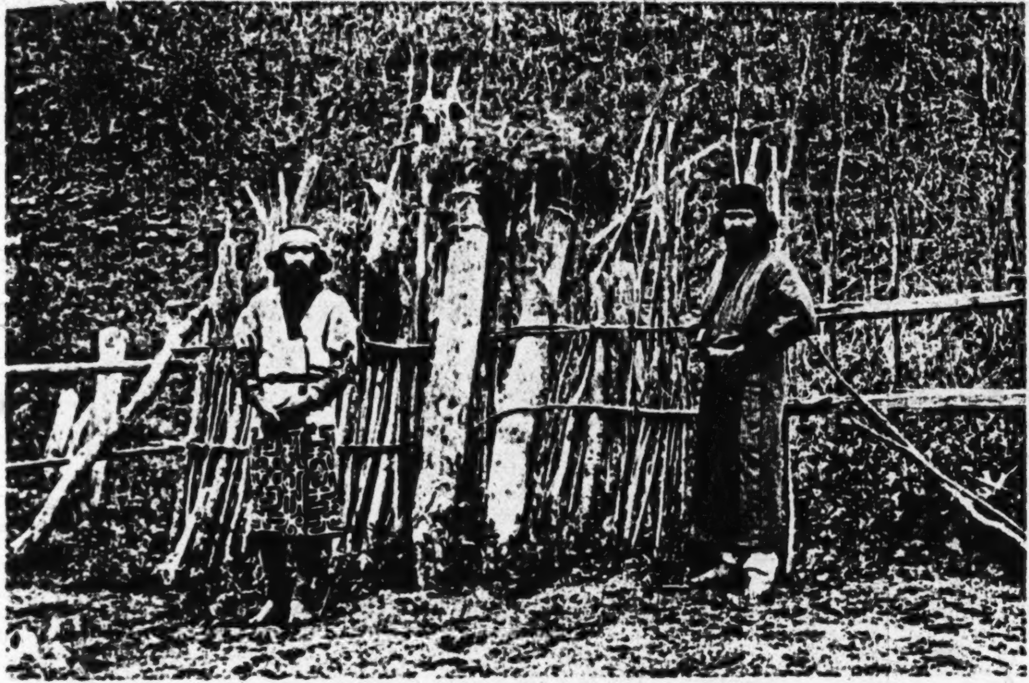
531
585
●291



BETROTHED Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[p. 194]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
291
527
231

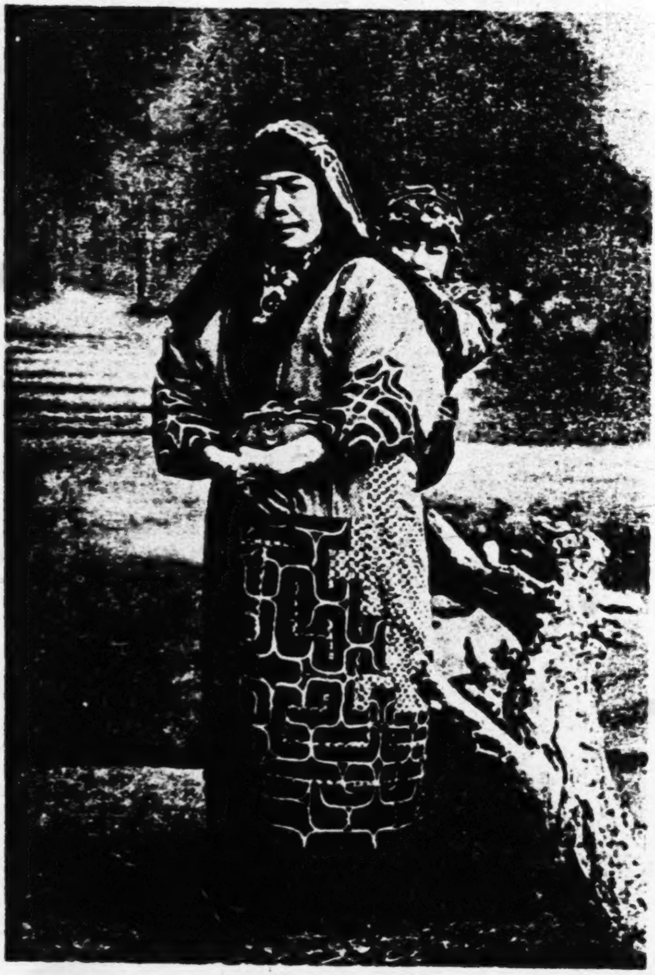


BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

[p.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

855
482
291

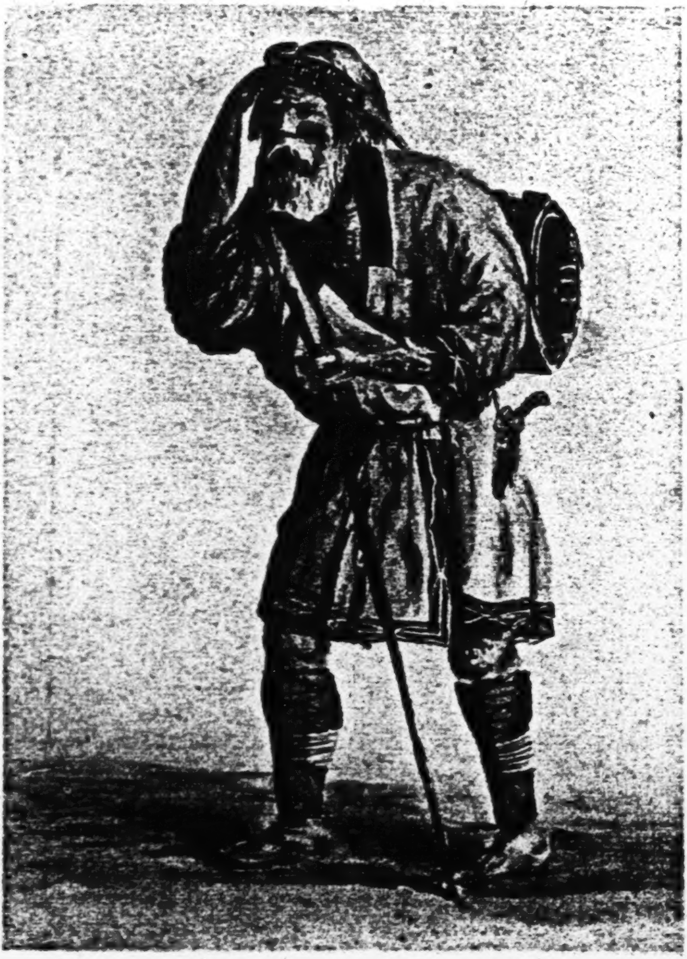


SAMARIA AND HER GRANDCHILD

[P.228]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

482
484
291



AN OLD-TIME MAN
(Very characteristic, fifty years ago)

[p. 242(A)]

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that 114
they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. 784
I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching 215
or taking their photographs, especially when in a 532
nude condition, their natural life was shortened in 291
some mysterious way. The term they used with reference 826
to it was *Ainu katu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

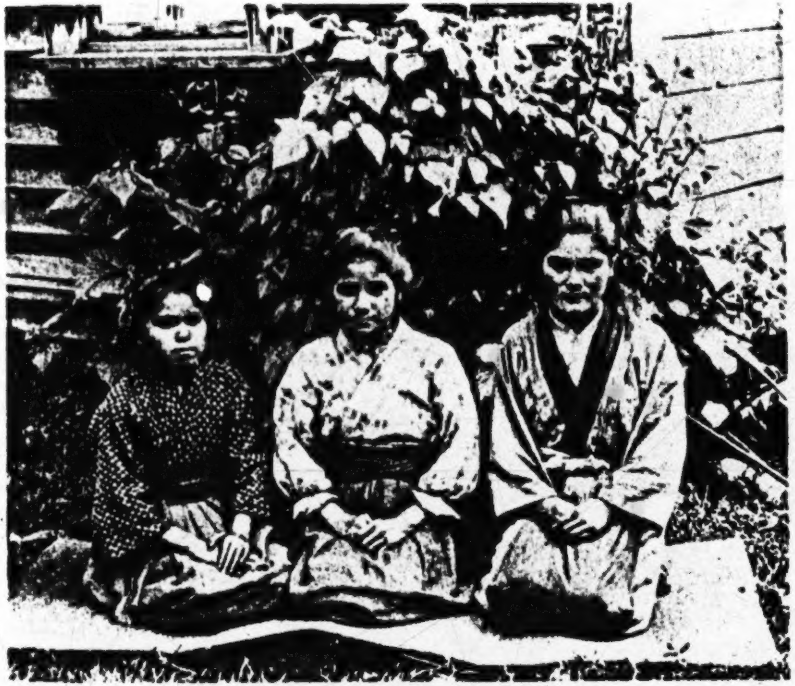
Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have 114
taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

516
291
142

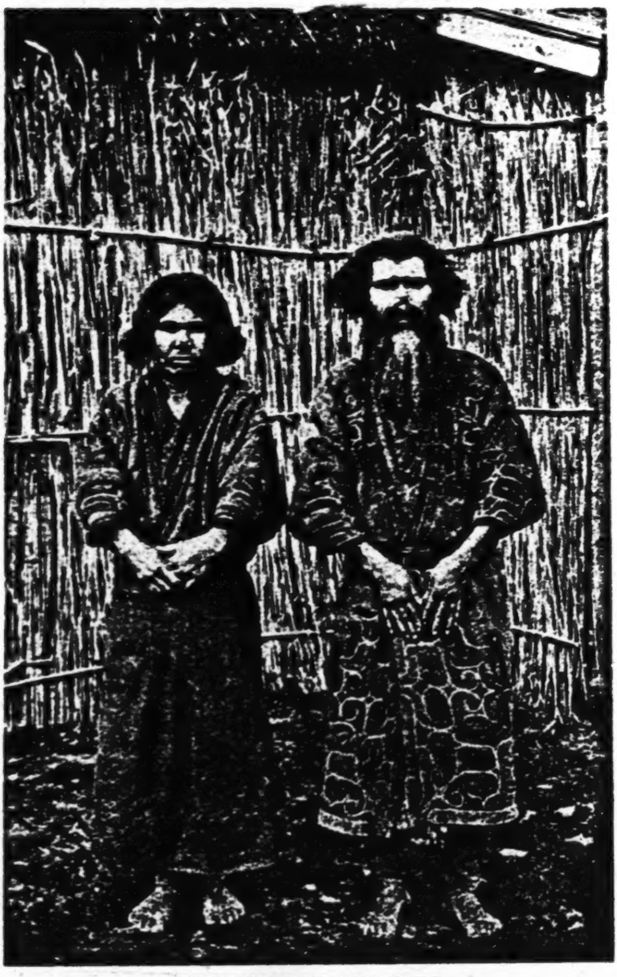
[P.248(A)]



AINU TYPES OF YOUNG WOMEN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756
685
417
●291



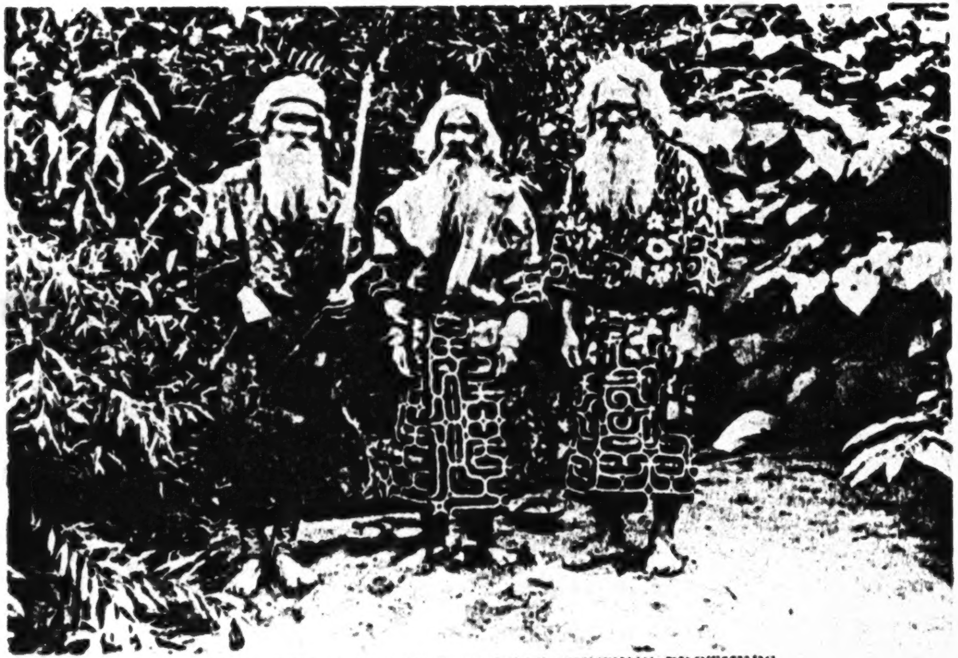
A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

[p. 274]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

204
●291
137

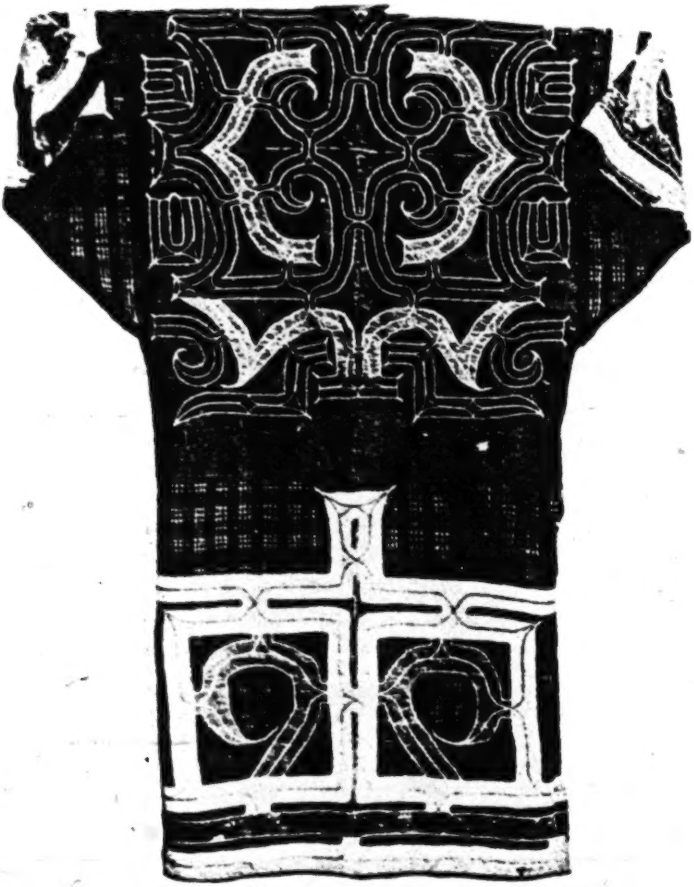
[P.304]



CHIEF PENRI AND HIS TWO BEAR-HUNTING BROTHERS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

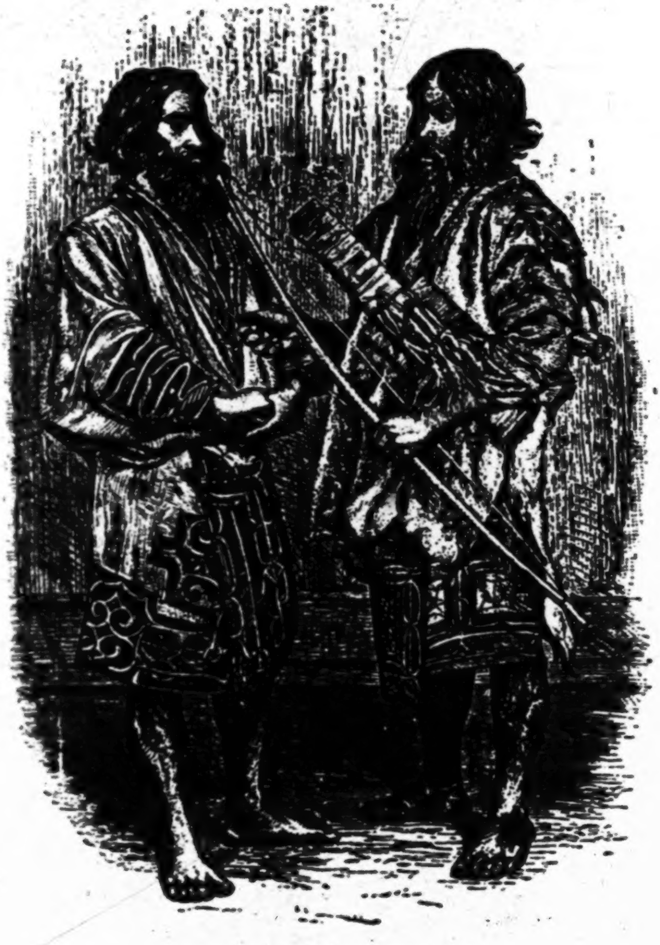
291
531



AINU EMBROIDERY. A MAN'S COAT

[P. 330 (A)]

291
302
411

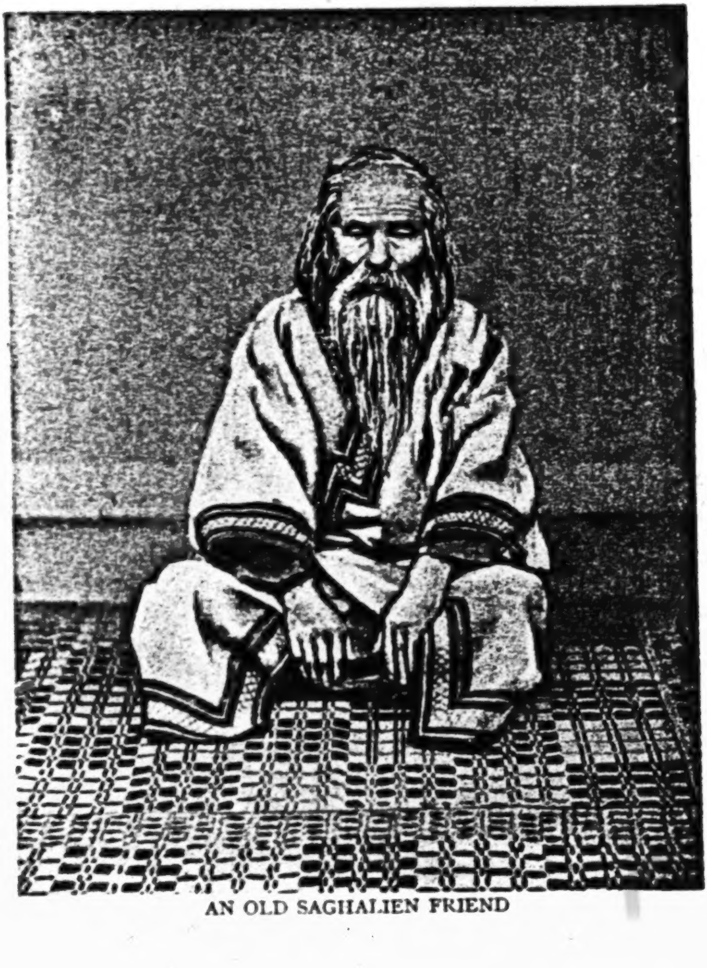


TWO FRIENDS OF 1880

[p. 350]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
516
342



AN OLD SAGHALIEN FRIEND

[P. 356]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

291
411
224
231

MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

CHAPTER XLVIII

A LEGEND TELLING HOW A CRUEL, BAD-TEMPERED MAN WAS PUNISHED BY THE GODS

Thus runs this very remarkable Ainu legend.

"I was an orphan brought up in the house of my uncle. He had two wives. He was a very bad-tempered man and treated me with great cruelty. He even begrudged me my daily food and railed at me continually. So hard was he upon me that, being but a child, I used to weep long and bitterly. But my two aunts were very kind and often gave me food in secret. 539

"On a certain occasion I saw the aunts making new garments. One busied herself with sewing up six warm coats, well wadded with cotton, and the other worked away, making half a dozen pairs of fine fish-skin boots. One day, after they had finished their tasks and the night had fallen upon us, we all went to bed. During the night I was wakened by a walking noise, as of someone coming from my aunts' sleeping quarters. The one who had made the shoes approached quite close up to me and touched the lobe of one of my ears with her hand. She then put her mouth near my ear and whispered, saying, [291]

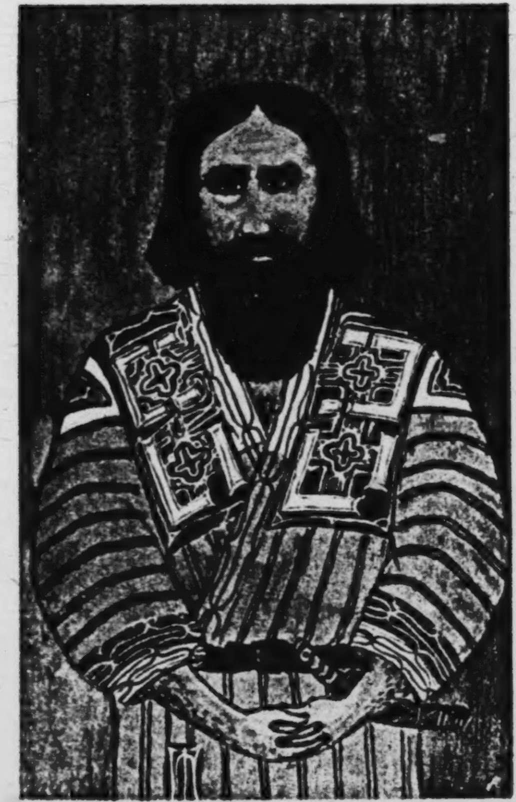
"'O child whom we have hitherto cared for and fed, I have something of importance to say to thee, so pay great attention to my words. Thy uncle is a very well-to-do man, and he is now about to brew *saké* as if for a festive entertainment on your behalf. When the *saké* is all ready, he intends to invite his friends to the feast. When they come, it is

[p. 381]

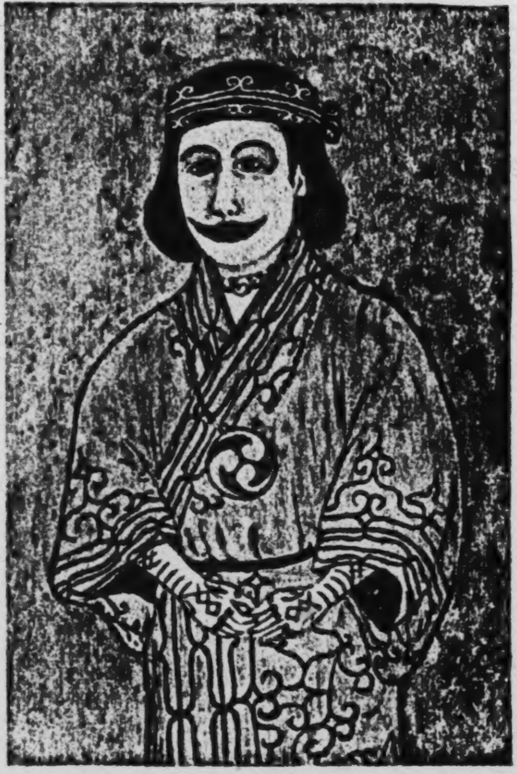
532
516
291
302
304

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 436(A)

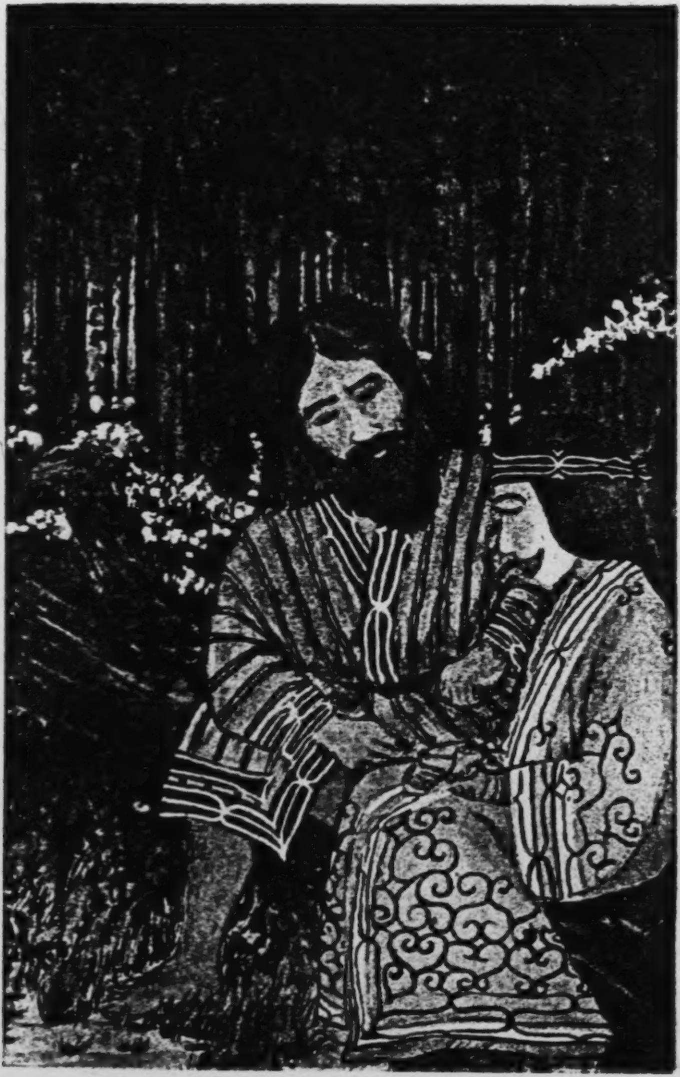


KUTRÍ
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu



YAI-MAII
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

532
●291
831
516
584



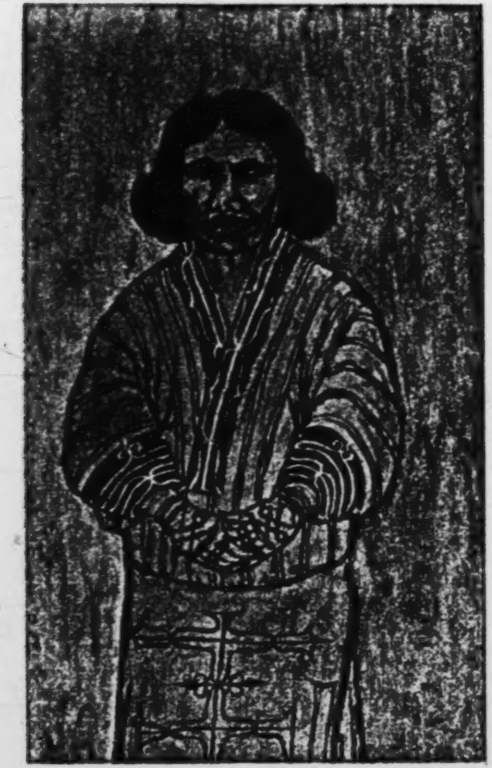
KUTRI AND YAI-MAH COURTING
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

[P. 438(A)]

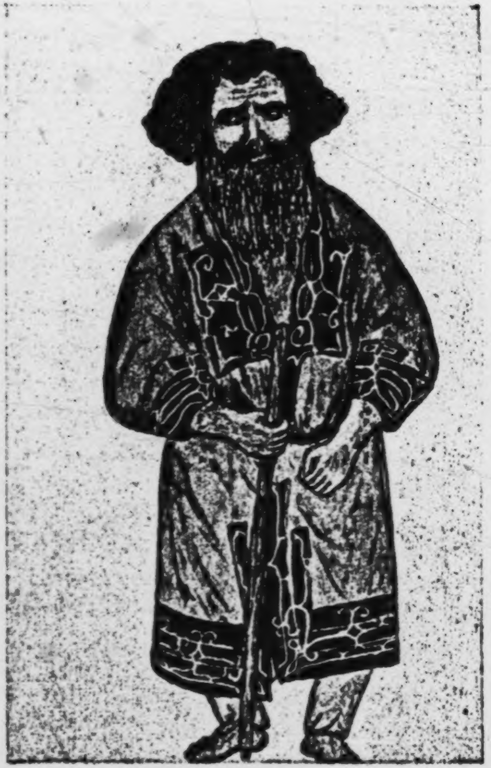
2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

142
291
302
304

[P. 440(A)]

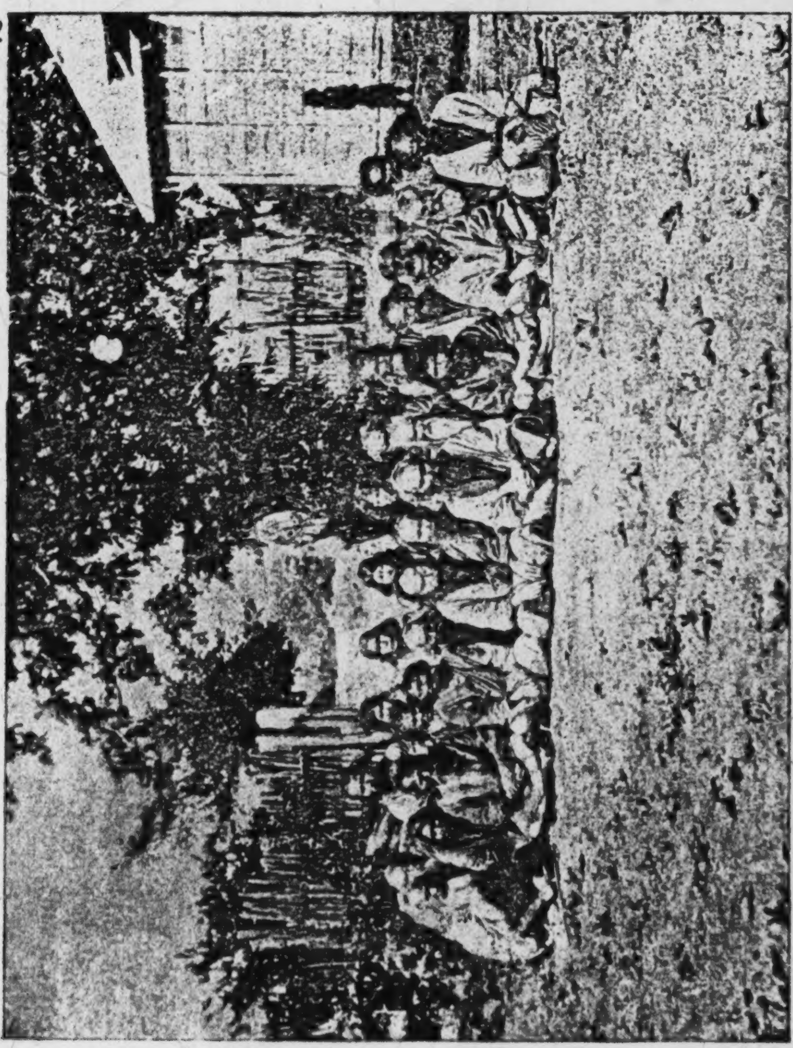


ARA-SHIK OF THE WEAK EYE
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu



WENKU OF THE STIFF ARM
Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu

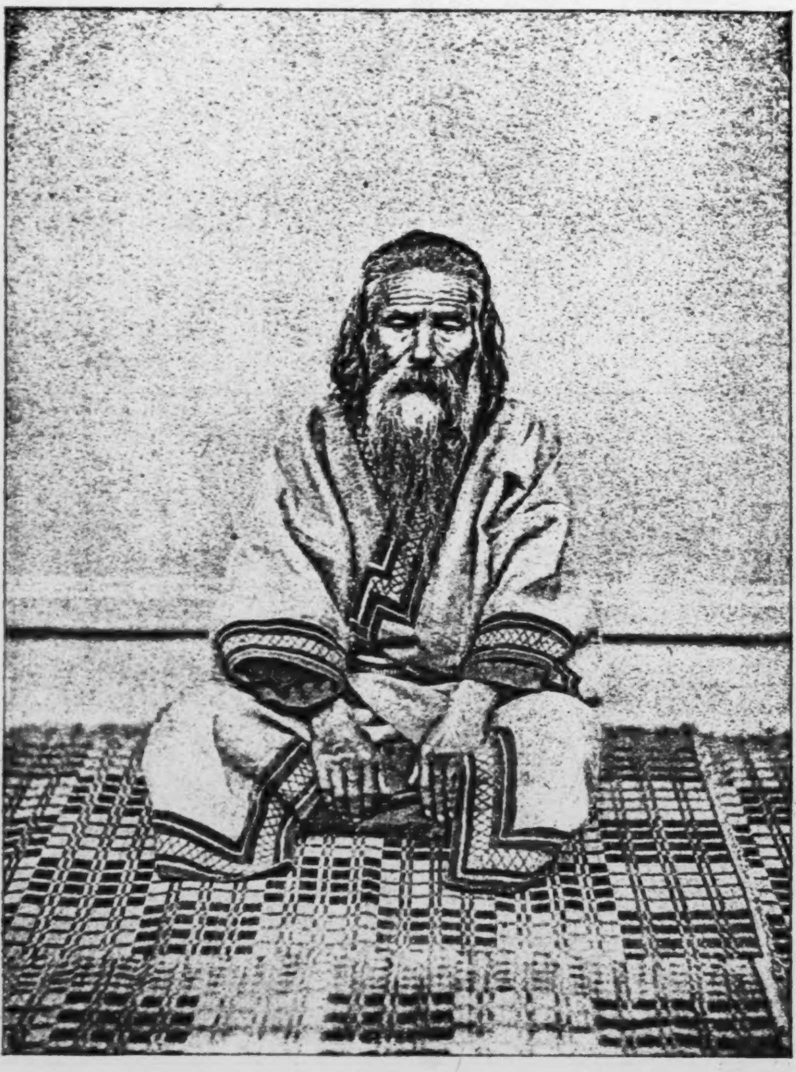
H-2
291
302
516



TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

[Facing p. 440(A)]

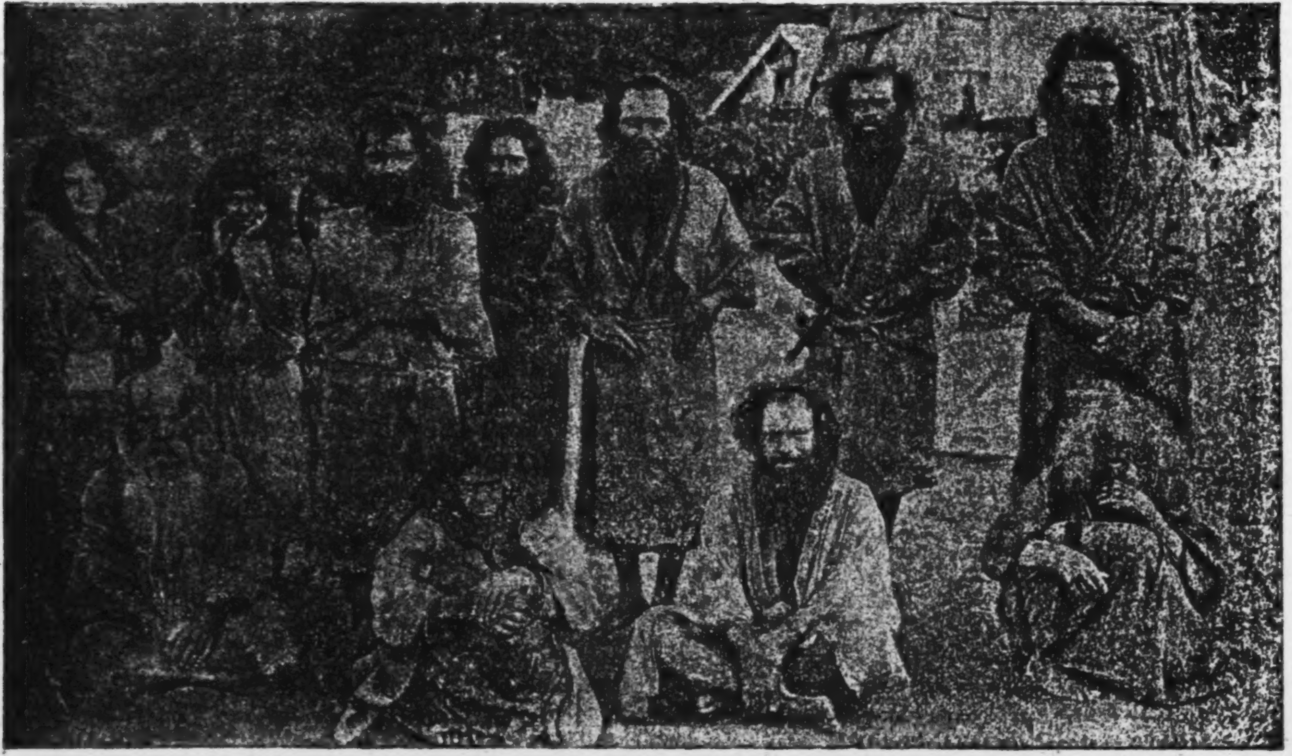
142
302
291
531
516



TSUISHIKARI AINO.

[Facing p. 440 (B)]

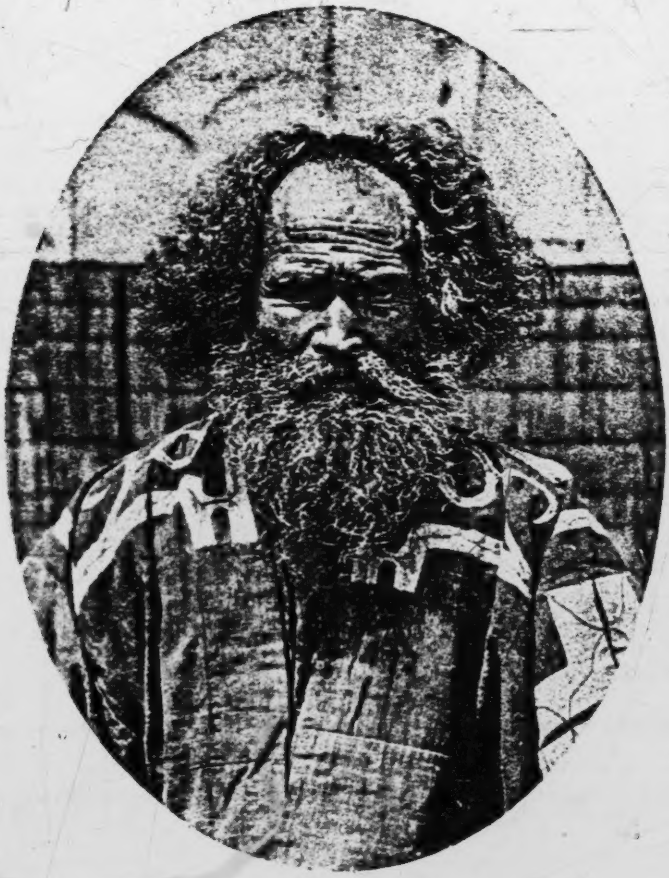
142
302
●291
516



GROUP OF AINOS, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 440(c)]

142
● 291
302
531



AINO, URAP.

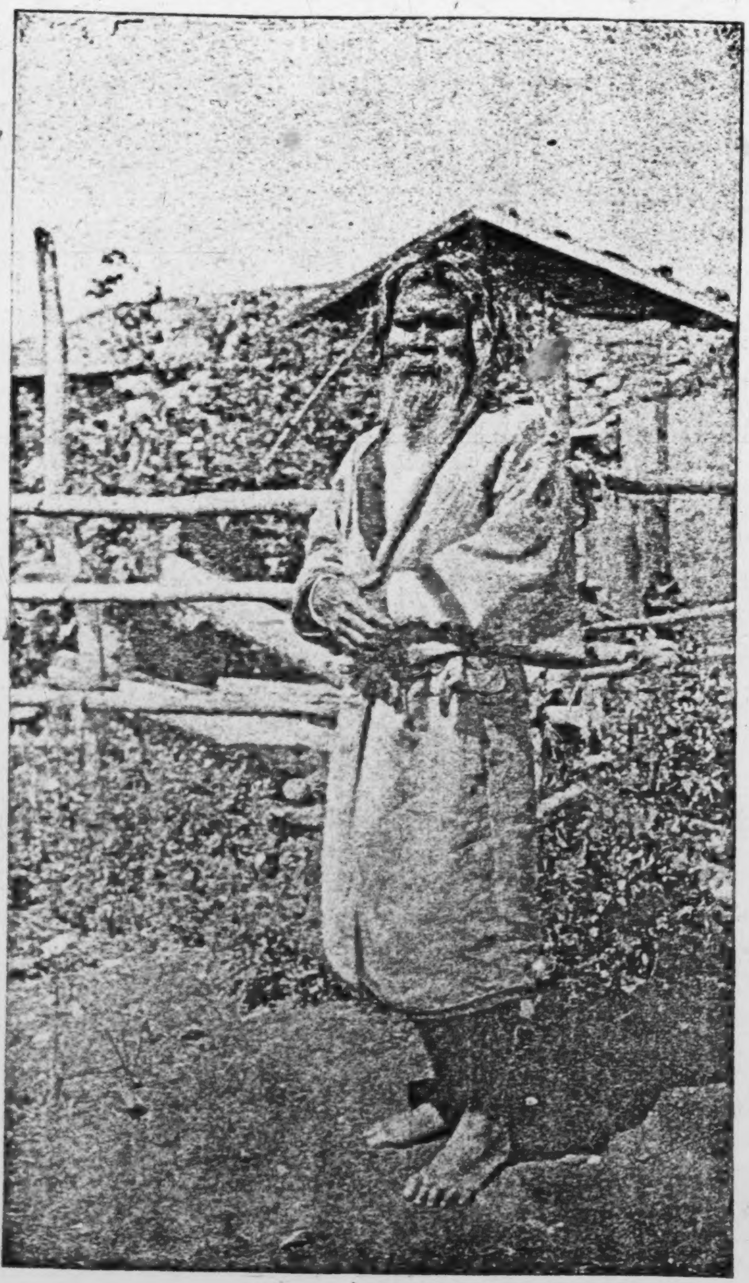
[Facing p. 442 (A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

6

Report of National Museum, 1890.—Hitchcock. PLATE LXXXVI.

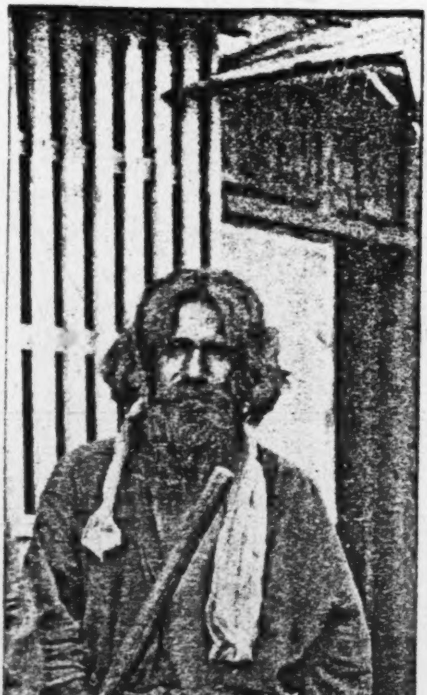
142
● 291
302
417



AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (8)]

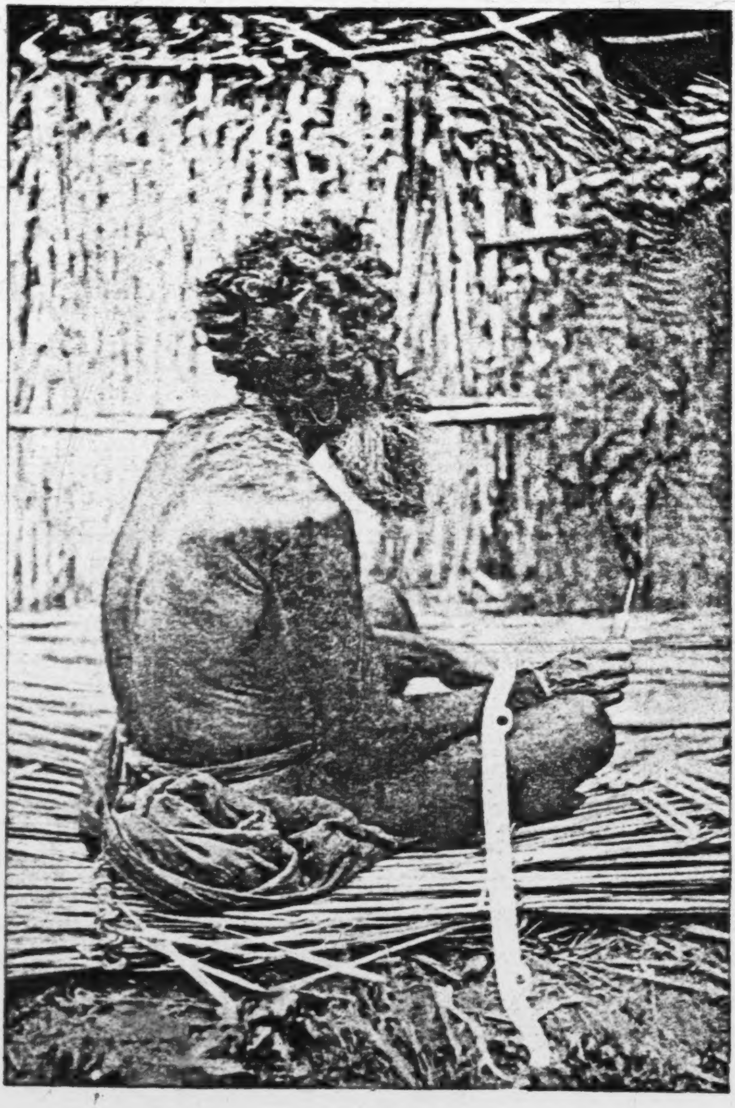
442
● 291
302
417



AINO, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442(c)]

142
302
291
516

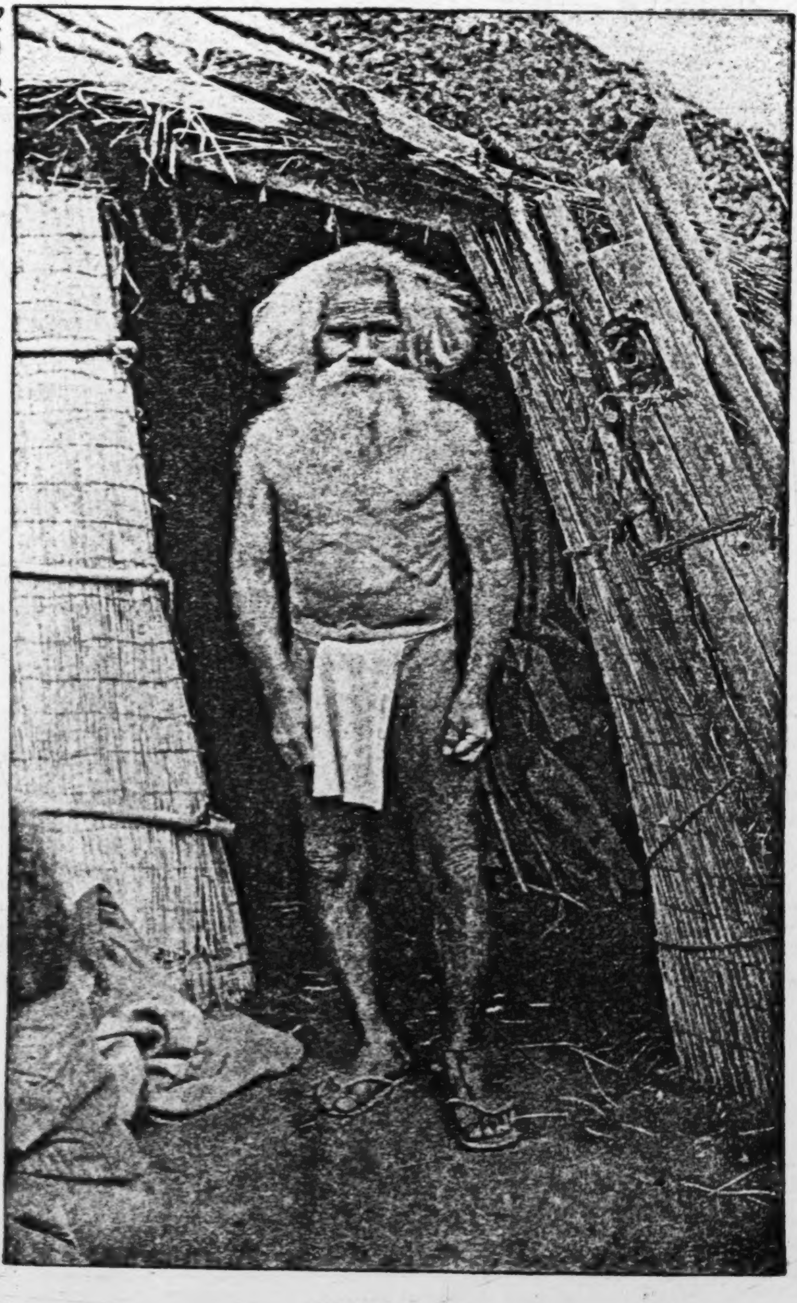


AINO, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

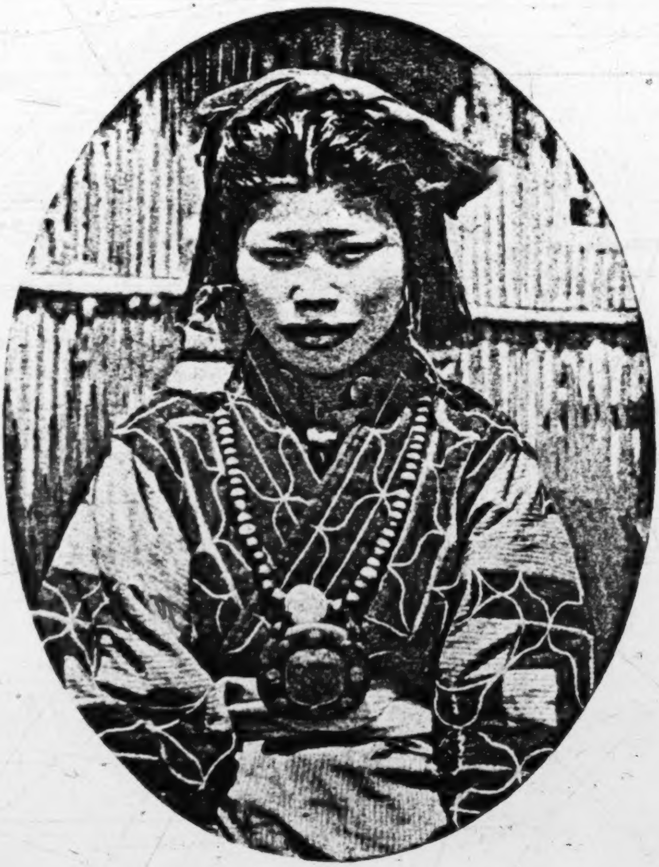
142
291
342



OLD AINO, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (E)]

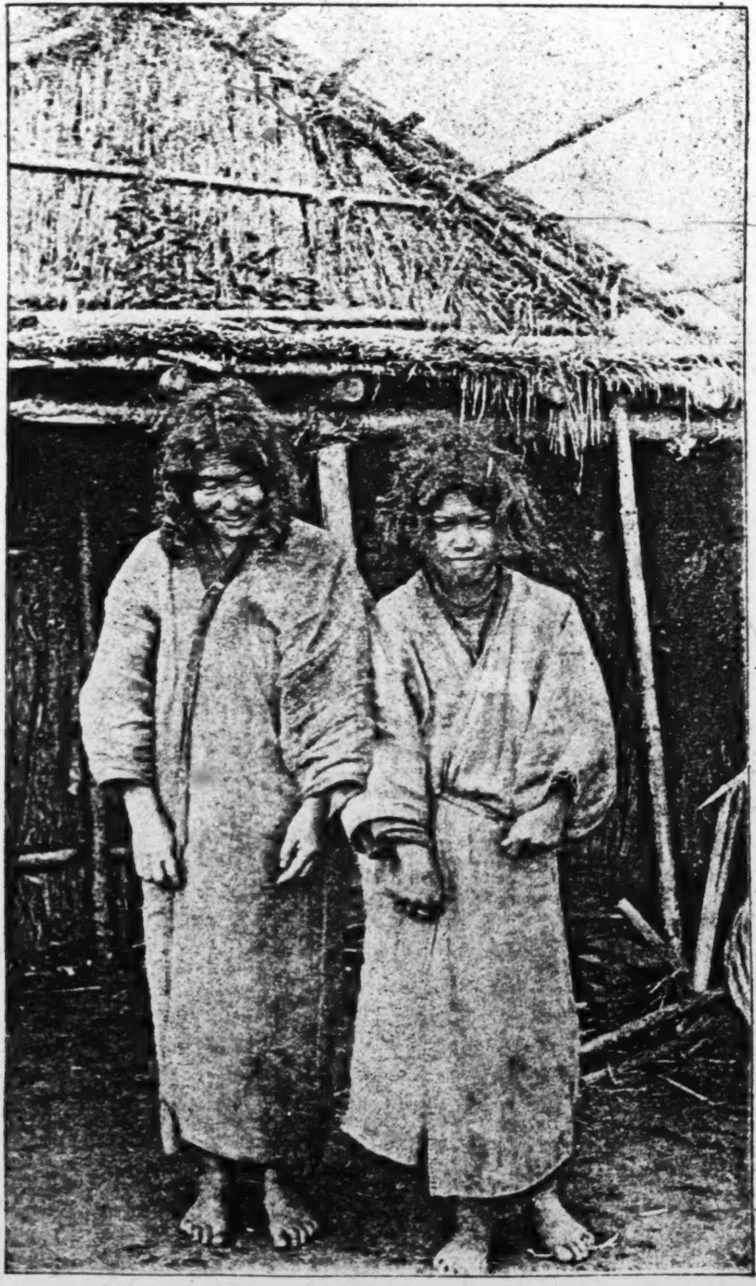
142
304
302
301
531
291
●



AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (F)]

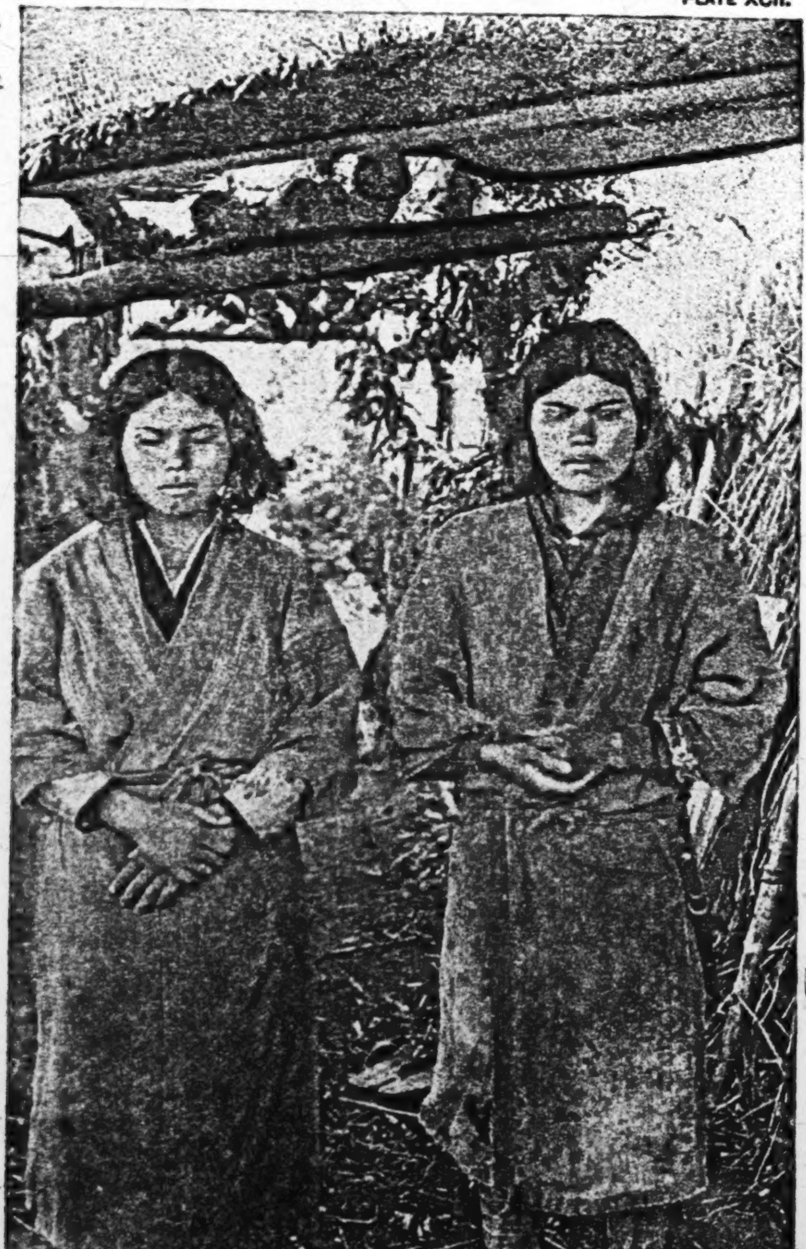
142
291
302
342



AINO WOMEN, ABASHIRI.

[Facing p. 442 (G)]

142
291
302

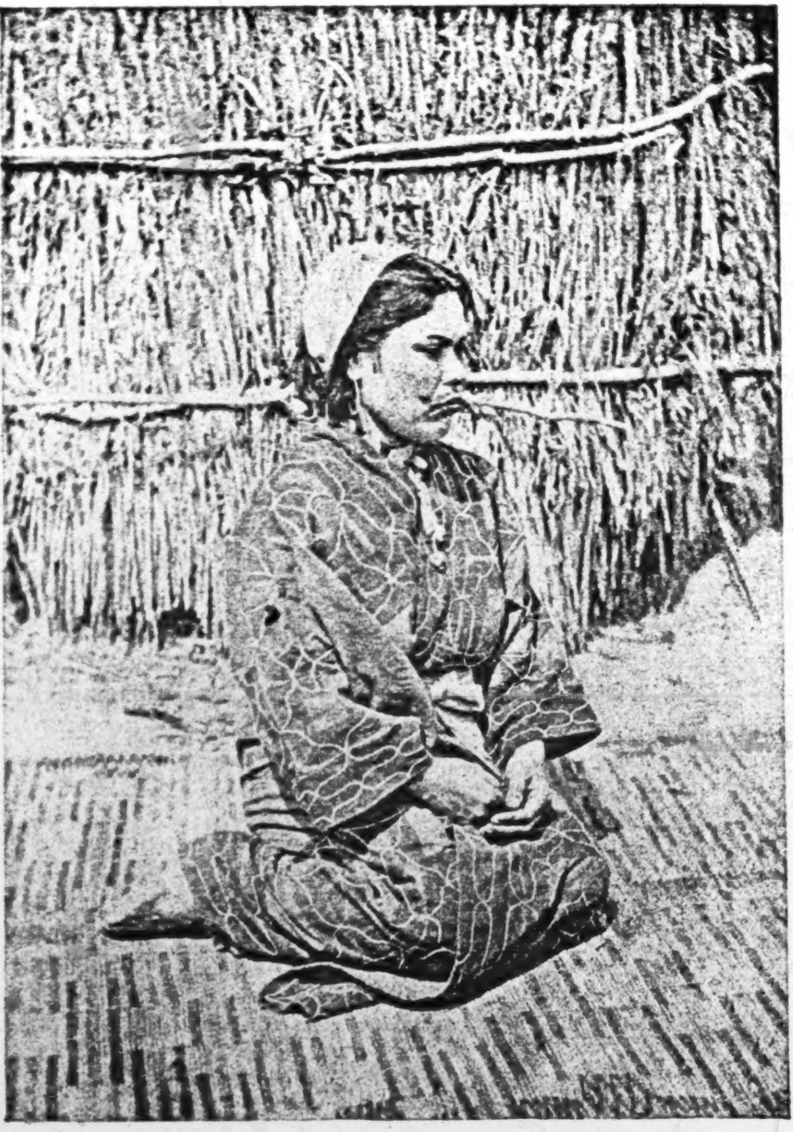


AINO GIRLS, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 442 (H)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

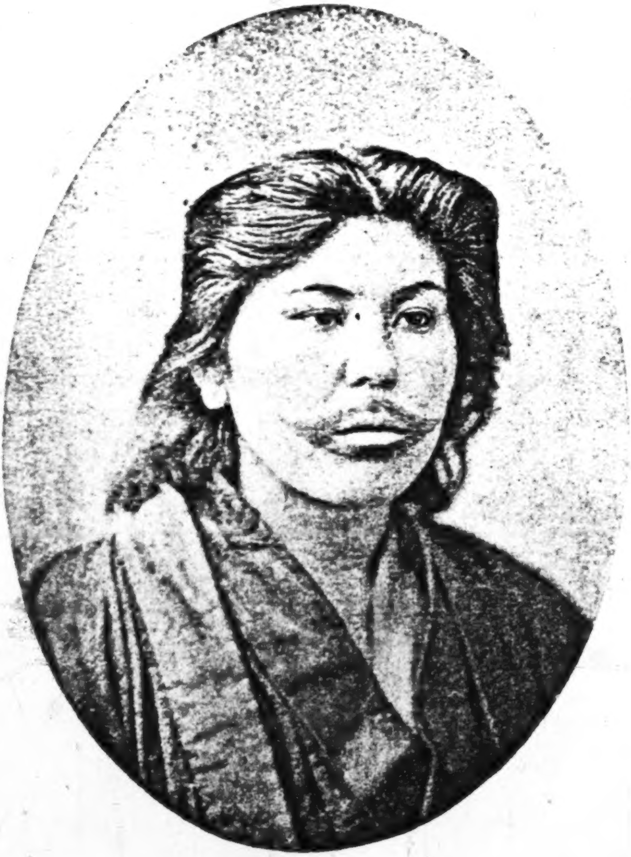
142
● 291
551
285
516



AINO WOMAN, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (I)]

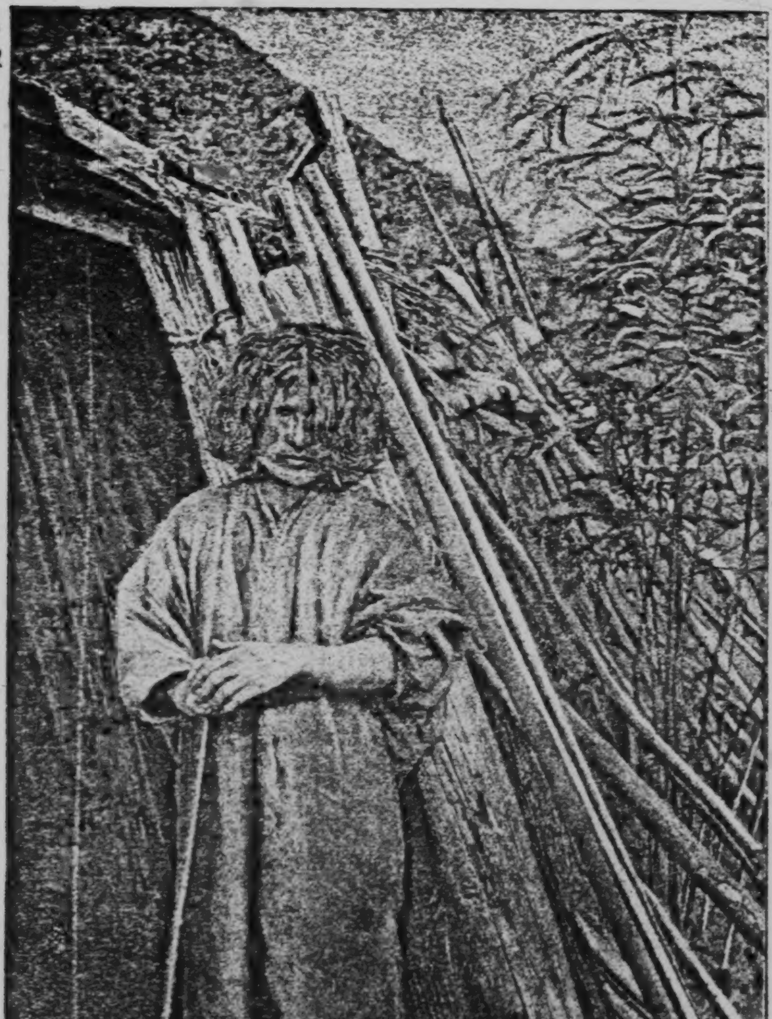
142
302
304
291



AINO GIRL, URAP.

[Facing p. 442 (J)]

142
302
● 291
342

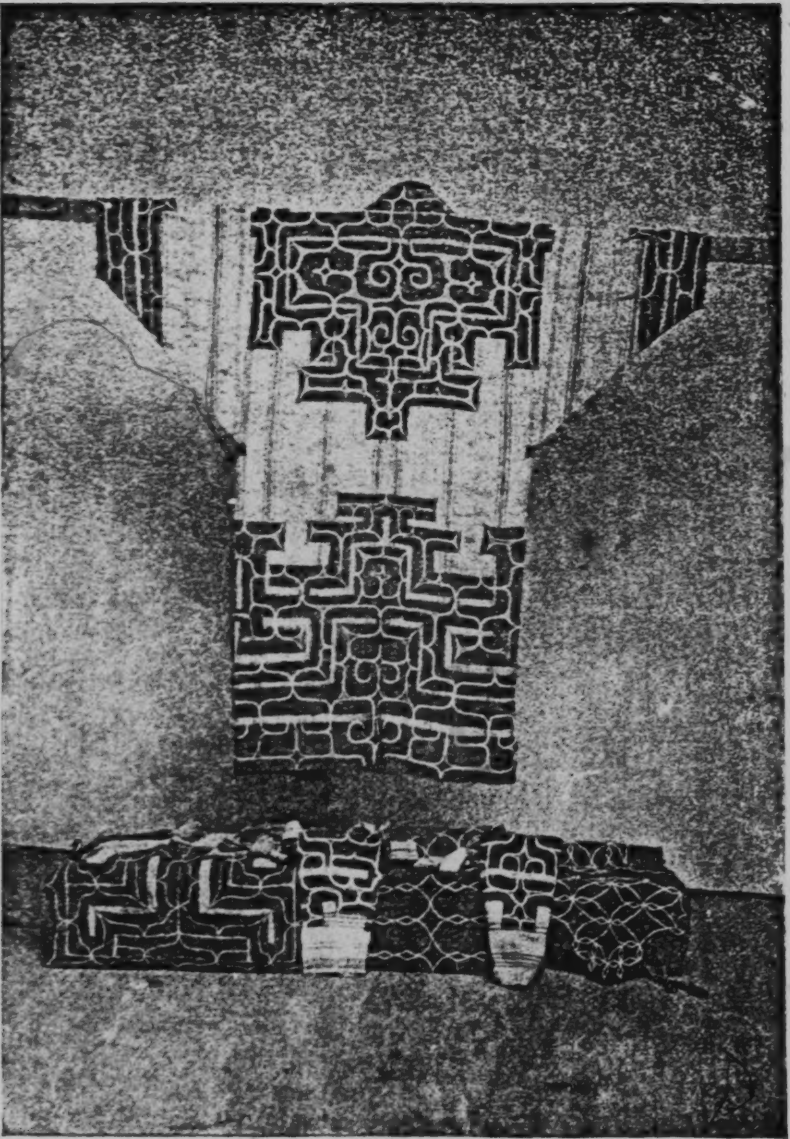


OLD WOMAN, TOKORO.

[Facing p. 450 (A)]

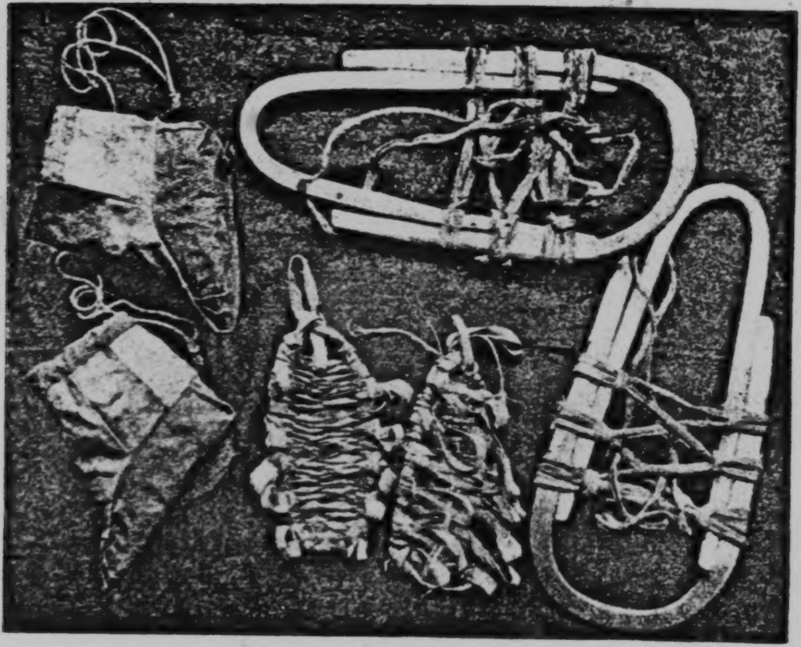
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
531



AINO CLOTHING.

[Facing p.450 (8)]



AINO SANDALS, SNOW-SHOES, AND FISH-SKIN SHOES.

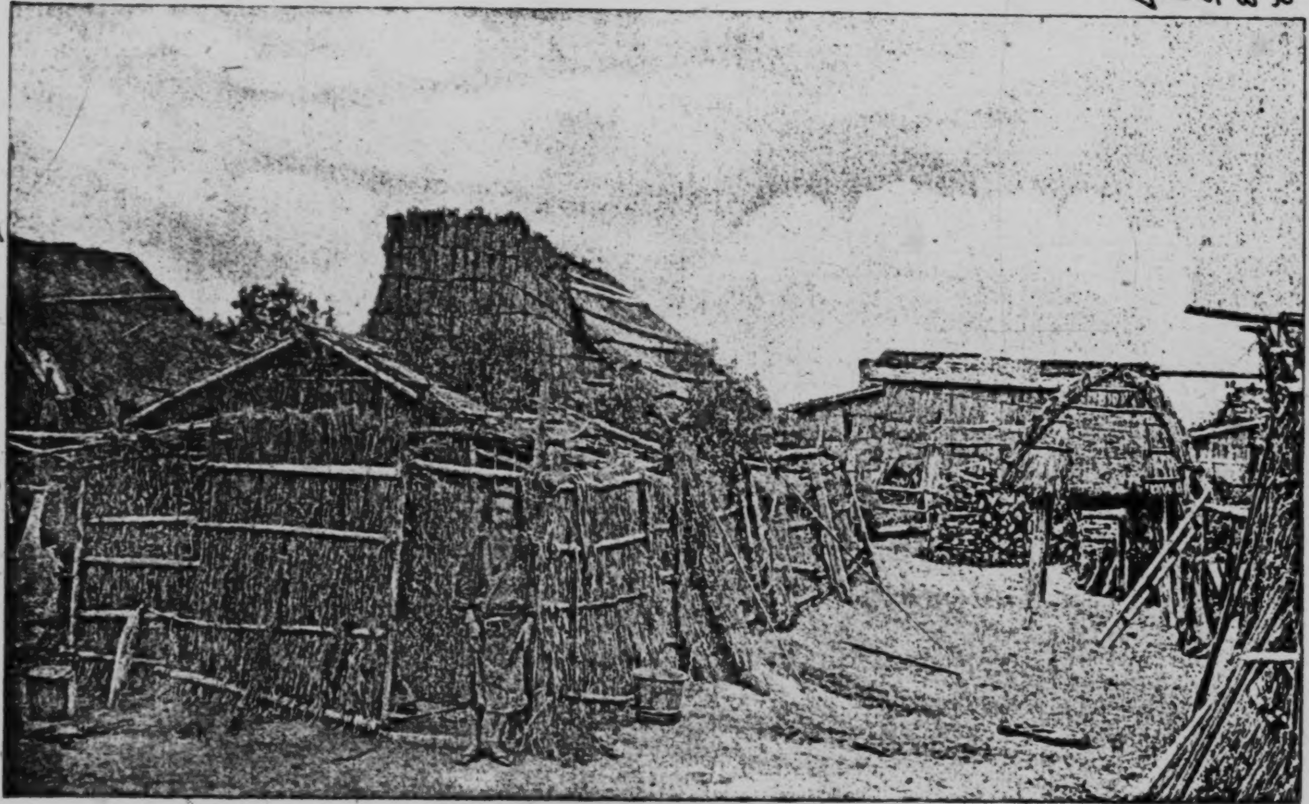
[Facing p. 450 (c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Report of National Museum, 1890.—Hitchcock.

PLATE XCVIII.

342
343
415
●291
417

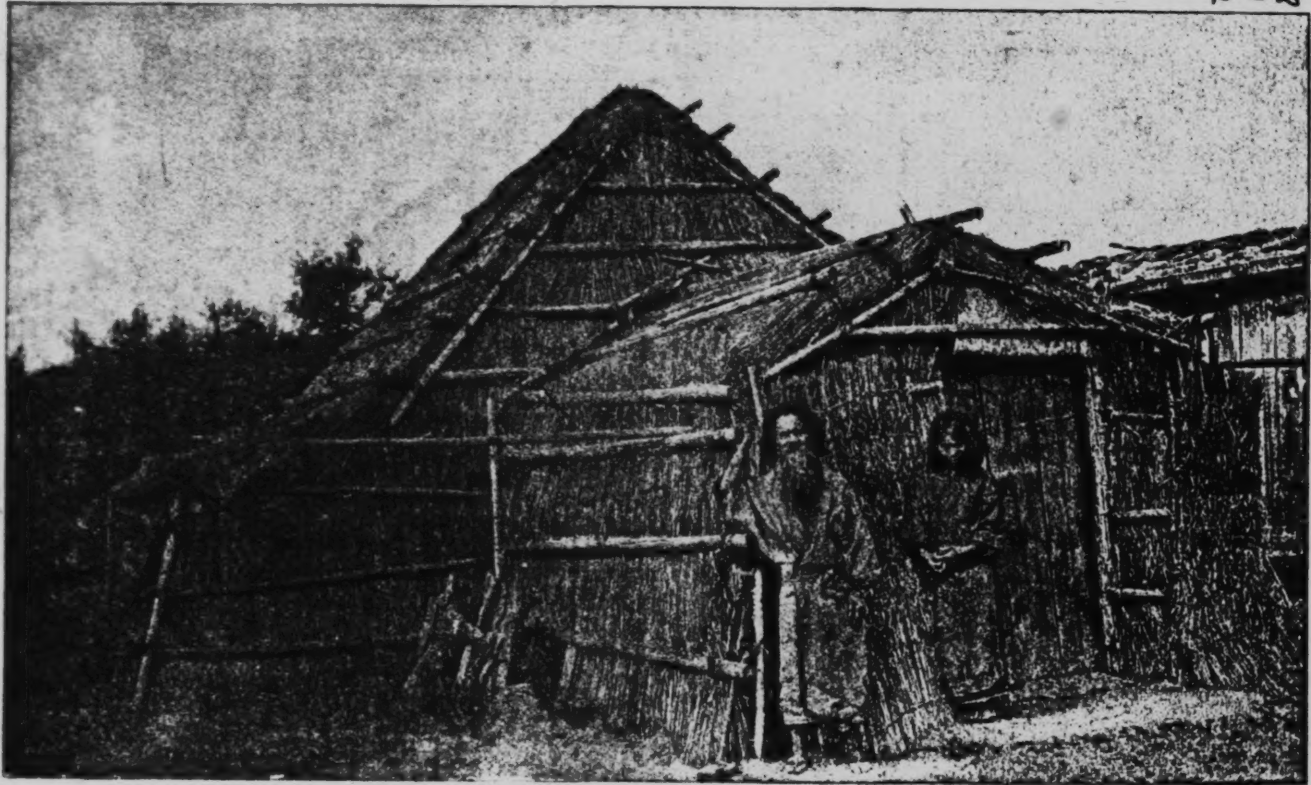


AINO HOUSE AND STORE-HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (D)]

342
291
302

PLATE XCIX.



AINO HOUSE, SHARI.

[Facing p. 450 (E)]

CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous 286 bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used.

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned 291 after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate [177] XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the *ohiyo*, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running [531] design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already [439] the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron.

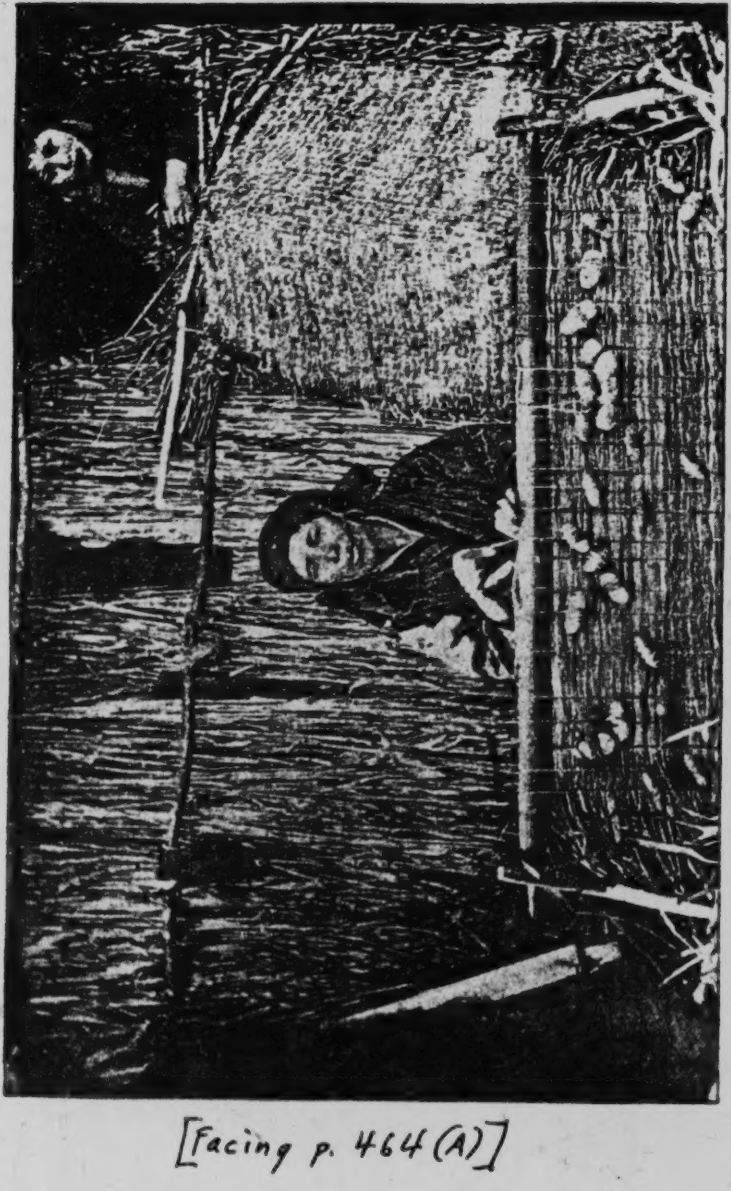
Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kawa*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snow-shoes consisting of wooden frames with [237
thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 481]

DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, 342 usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII, at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of

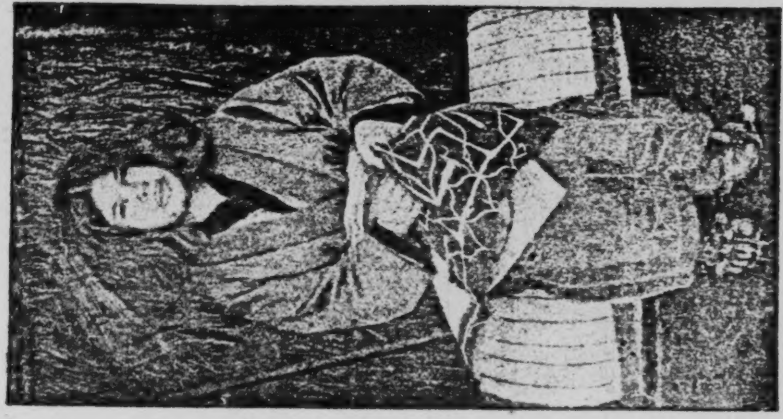
285
291
142



AINO WOMAN MAKING A MAT.

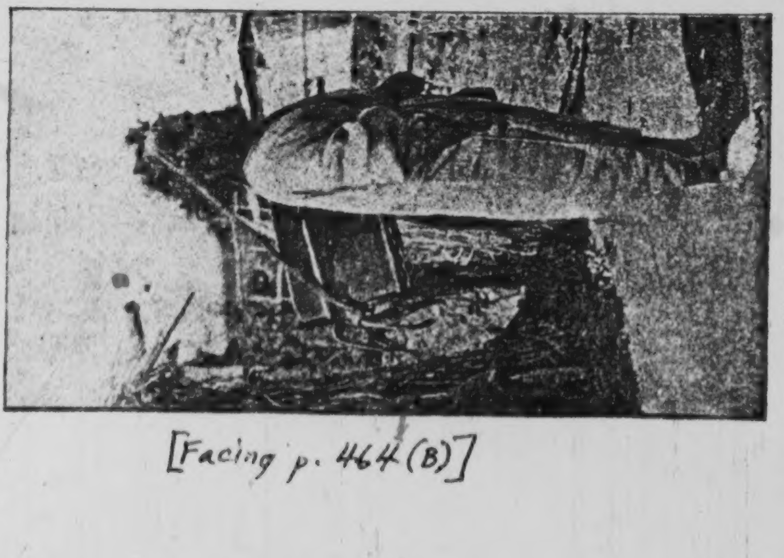
[Facing p. 464 (A)]

531
302
291
142



GIRL EMBROIDERING.

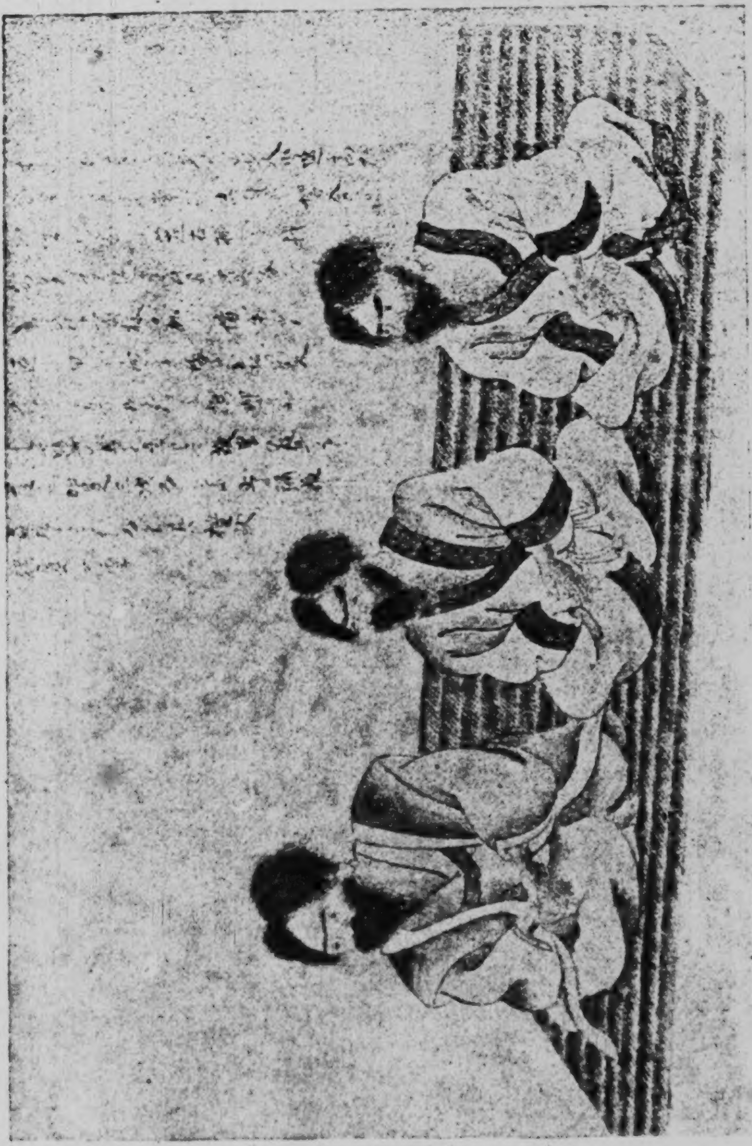
482
291



MAN CARRYING A TUB.

[Facing p. 464 (B)]

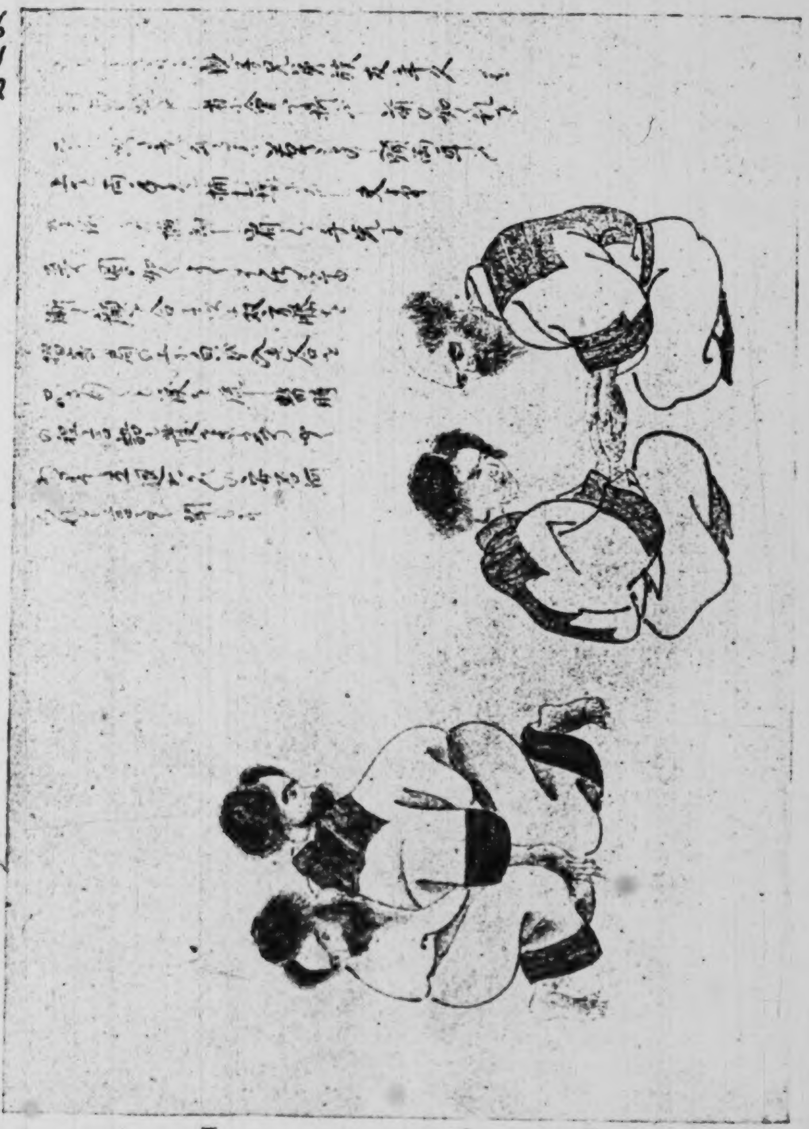
576
291
302



AINO CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

576
291
302



AINOS GREETING.

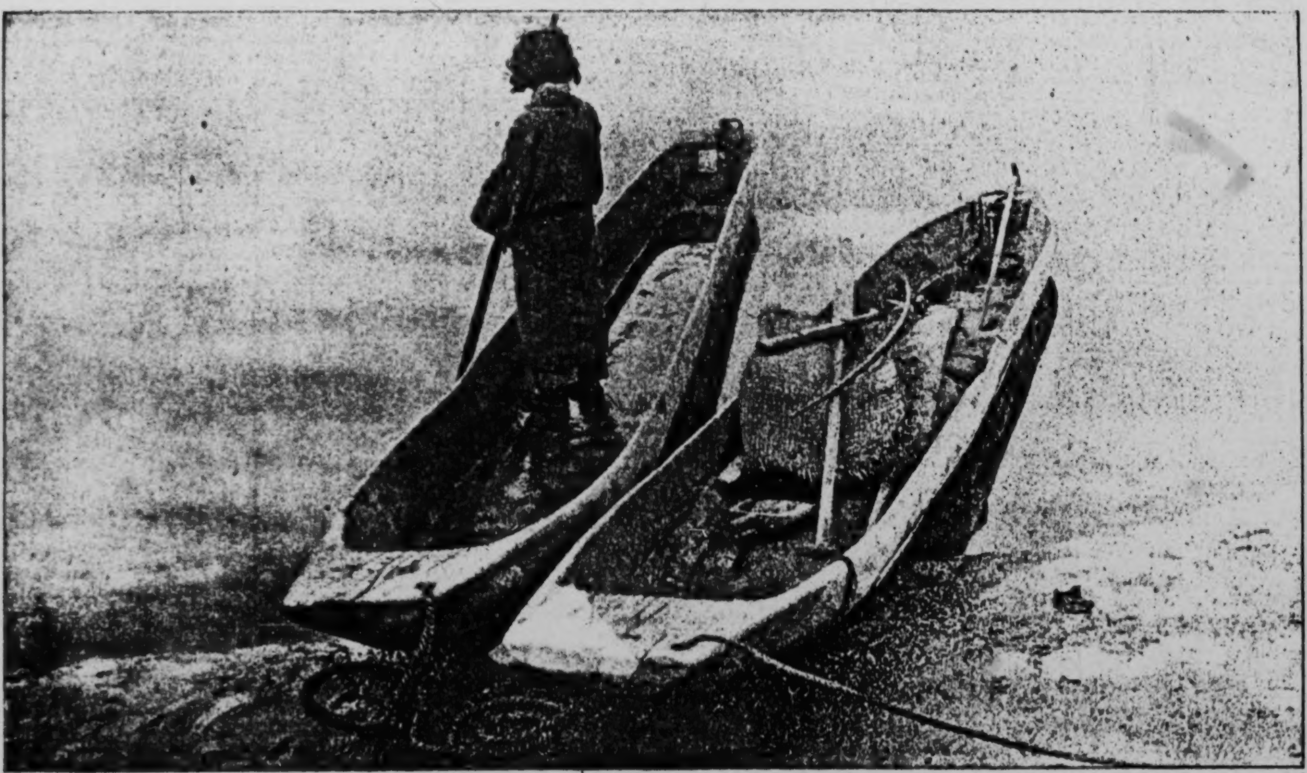
[Facing p. 464 (D)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291

PLATE CX.

[Facing p. 472(B)]

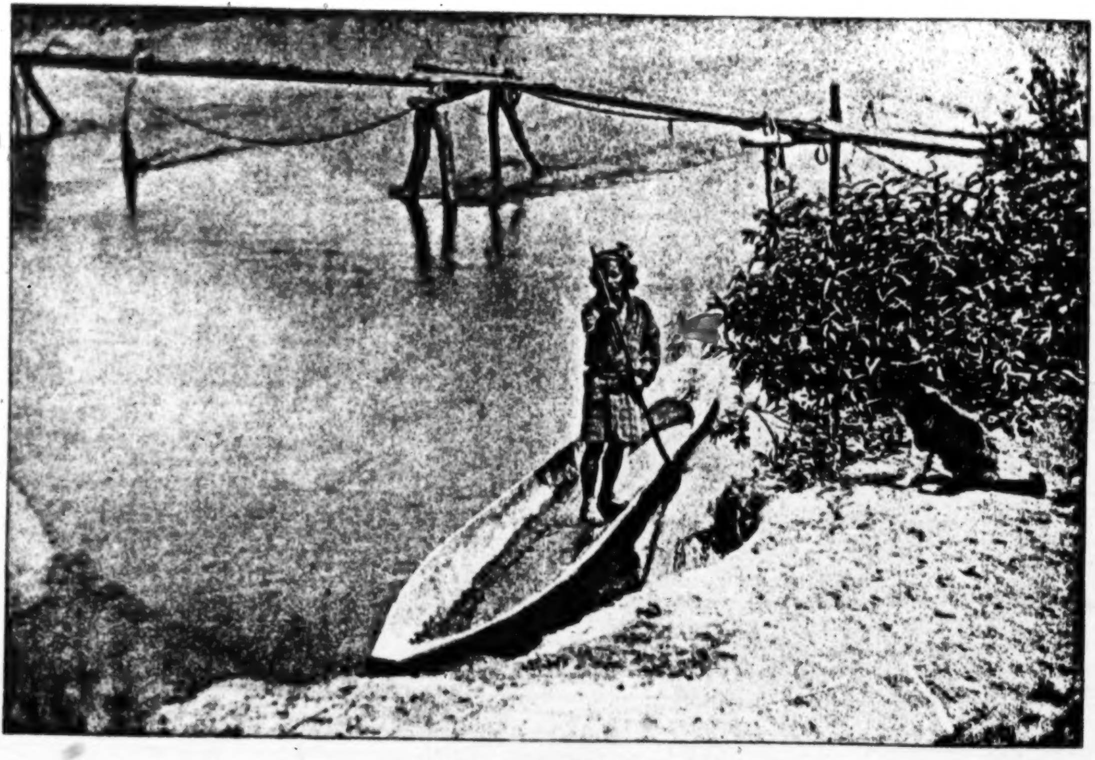


AINO RIVER BOATS, TOKORO.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

501
291
491

PLATE CXI.



AINO RIVER BOAT, URAP.

[Facing p. 472(c)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

773
539
to each other, "How good this water is." Half the fleet went up the river. But the boat in which the Aino was, continued its voyage, and at last arrived at the shore of his native place, whereupon the sailors threw the Aino into the water. He thought he had been dreaming, and then he came to himself. The boat and its sailors had disappeared; whither he could not tell. But he went to his house, and, falling asleep, dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the same old chief appeared to him and said: "I am no human being; I am the chief of the Salmon, the divine fish. As you seemed in danger of perishing in the waves, I drew you to me and saved your life. You thought you only staid with me a single night. But in reality that night was a whole year, at the conclusion of which I sent you back to your native place. So I shall be truly grateful if henceforth you will offer liquor to me, set up the divine symbols in my honor, and worship me with the words, 'I make a libation to the chief of the salmon, the divine fish.' If you do not worship me, you will become a poor man. Remember this well." Such were the words which the divine old man spoke to him in his dream.

LIST OF SPECIMENS FROM THE AINOS IN YEZO, COLLECTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1888.

By ROMYN HITCHCOCK.

[The numbers refer to the entries in the register of the U. S. National Museum.]

126
346
Mat.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the *suge* of the Japanese, with black or brown colored squares of dyed bark of *Tilia cordata*. The elm bark is also used for the colored parts. The brown color is obtained from the bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black from *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150632.

Mat.—Same as 150632. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150633.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150634.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150635.

Mat.—Same as 150632, different pattern. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150636.

Shoes made of fish skin.—Worn with snow-shoes in winter. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150637.

126
411
Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with iron heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root; used to kill bears. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150338.

Quiver and poisoned arrows.—Arrows with bamboo heads, poisoned with a preparation of aconite root. The shafts made in sections of reed and wood, with feathered ends. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150639.

	Inches.
Length of bamboo head	1¾ to 2
Length of upper shaft of wood	5½ to 6
Length of lower shaft of reed	12½ to 13

Stone arrow heads were probably in use by the Ainos within the historic period. They are found buried on the soil near the surface in many places.

804
Bow.—Made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*, which is preferred for the purpose. The specimen is 49 inches in length. The string is twisted bark cord. (See Fig. 84.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150640.

Bow.—Similar to 150640, but 52 inches long. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150641.

126
Bow.—Small bow of wood wrapped with strips of bark to strengthen it. The string is secured at one end to a piece of hard wood fitting over the end of the bow like a cap, held in place by a wooden pin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 84.) 150642.

Snowshoes.—Made of wood with thongs of bear skin. These are worn with the shoes of fish-skin [No. 150637] or with much more comfortable boots made of hide and fur. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Bekkai, Yezo, 1888. 150643

291
Sandals.—Shutukeri. Very rudely made of walnut bark, secured to the foot with cords of bark. (See Pl. XCVII.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150644

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645 126 291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650 126 [283]

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shina-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653 [386]

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656 [415]

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659 [291]

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662 [227]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663 [415]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664 [413]

126

[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashira, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate CV.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

126

Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684 [415]

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291] ●

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Aino designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Aino loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411 415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

126 482 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150757

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

411 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[241] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

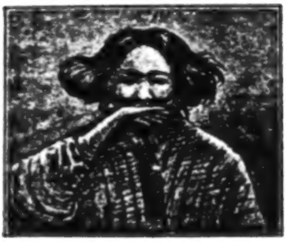
Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150784

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was
887 an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white
[291] hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-
weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young
women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and
high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their
576 quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each
rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly
stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of
their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under
the nose from the left to the right.
[302] This is their salutation, and it
[291] is most graceful. They seemed
pleased to see me, and asked me
to sit down. As there were neither
[352] chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions,
I squatted on the ground.



AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay
191 understand Japanese, and they also
speak it, interpolating Ainu words
when necessary, so I began a con-
123 versation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or
609 arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-
pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be
struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more
interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now
and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke
some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence
291 or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings
301 or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to
[304] their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long
moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough
drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some
481 of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if
not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well
[142] when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from
appearances, I should think them very passionate.

511 Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never
[291] forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin erup-
tions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

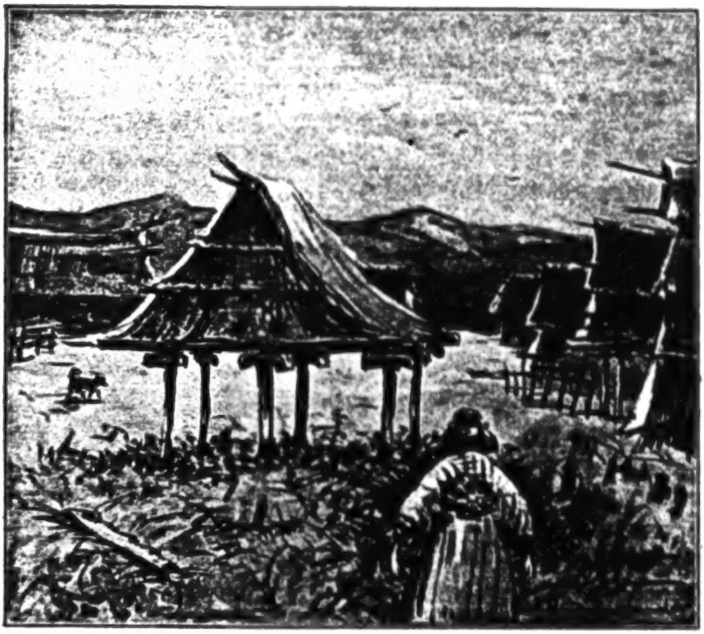
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

knives. They did not pay much attention to me, and this disregard of what would be to others a cause of curiosity and interruption I afterwards found to be a characteristic of the Ainu. They are seldom distracted from any particular idea that occupies their mind at a certain moment. In fact, they are so little accustomed to reflect at all, that it seems almost impossible for them to think of two things at the same time. Of all the existing races of mankind they may be said to be the most purely one-idea'd. 123 609

Stark naked, with their long hair streaming in the wind, they formed a picturesque group. What a chance for a sketch! I sat down on the sand, opened my paint-box, and dashed off a picture, when a young lad, who had taken his share of the fish, came over to see what I was doing. "What is it?" he asked me in broken Japanese, to which question I answered that I was painting the group of them. The news seemed to give him a shock. He rejoined the others, excitedly muttered some words, and apparently told them that I had painted the whole group, fish and all. Had anyone among them been struck by lightning, they could certainly not have looked more dismayed. I never knew until then that painting could have such an overpowering effect on people, except, perhaps, when one has sat to an amateur artist for one's own likeness, the result of which is often one of dumb and blank amazement. Anger and disgust naturally followed. The fish was thrown aside, but not the knives, armed with which they all rushed at my back. The sudden change of ideas had evidently made them exceedingly angry. The grumbling became very loud, and louder still when they saw me complacently giving the finishing touches to the fish, which was now left alone, and not as before shifted about every second. They grew wilder and wilder, until one of the crowd shouted in my ears some words which sounded remarkably like swearing. Nevertheless it takes more than that to stop me from sketching; but . . . "By Jove!" I exclaimed, when, all of a sudden, a rush was made on me. My paint-box, picture, palette and brushes were snatched out of my hands and smashed or flung away, and I found myself stretched on the sand, my late involuntary sitters holding me down fast by the legs and arms. A big knife was kept well over my head, so that I should not attempt [291]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343
291



STOREHOUSES AT PIRATORI.

CHAPTER III.

Up the Saru River—Piratori and its chief.

361 A LARGE number of Ainu have taken up their abode on the banks of the River Saru, or Sharu, as it is called by them, and Piratori, nearly fifteen miles from the coast, is the largest village of the whole series.

133
361
[103] The scenery from the coast to this village is not grand, but pretty, through a thickly-wooded country and along grassy plains. The Ainu give to the plain itself the name of Sharu-Ru, which corresponds in English to a "track in a grassy plain." Along this water-way, or not far from it, one meets with numerous small Ainu villages and scattered huts until Piratori is reached.

Piratori is a string or succession of many villages on undulating ground, the last of them being situated on a high cliff overlooking the river. In the Ainu language *Pira* means

[P. 22]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

transcribing them. I was, however, much surprised to find 128
that such learned Europeans could yield such ready credence 123
to a barbarian Ainu chief.

Thinking that it would please me, Benry told me the story of a deluge and a big flood, in which nearly all the Ainu were drowned. The few that escaped did so by finding refuge on a high mountain.

"Where did you learn this story, Benry?" I asked sternly.

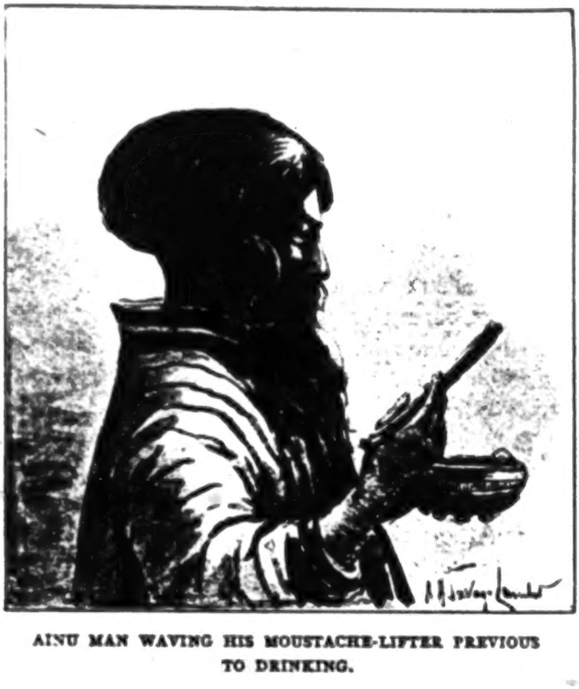
"Nishpa, it is an old Ainu story, and all strangers who come to Piratori write it in their books."

"Oh, no, Benry, you know well that *one* stranger did not write it in his book," said I quickly, as if I knew all about it.

"Oh, yes, nishpa; *that* was the stranger who told me the story!"

This small anecdote shows how careful one ought to be in accepting information which may sound extremely interesting at first, but is absolutely worthless in the end.

413
415
264
302
291



AINU MAN WAVING HIS MOUSTACHE-LIFTER PREVIOUS TO DRINKING.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

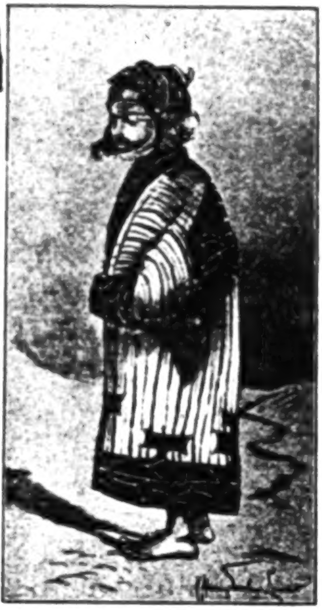
527 time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off
526 the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

527 The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

576
● 291
535
123



PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

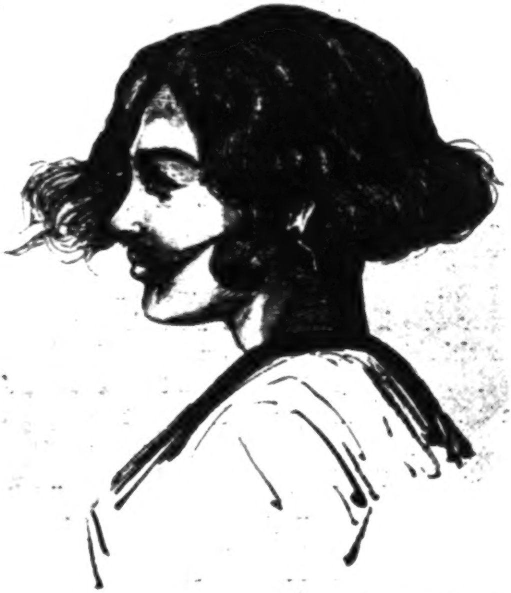
"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

K61 [582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them 184 301 [177] and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in

[142] [302] [304]



AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

291 summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. 283 227 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

---

[1] [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

133 who accompanied us said we should soon see them coming
back again. We were not far from the river banks when
shouts and cries of excitement reached my ears. I hurried on
to the water-side and saw the two "dug-outs" swiftly coming
501 down with the strong current, parallel with each other at a
distance of about seven feet apart. There were three people
226 in each "dug-out," viz., a woman with a paddle steering at
the prow; another woman crouched up at the stern, and a
man in the middle. A coarse net made of young vines,
and about five feet square, was fastened to two poles seven
or eight feet long. The man who stood in the centre
of each canoe held one of the poles, to the upper end of
which the net was attached, and attentively watched the
water.

226 "They are catching salmon—look!" said Unacharo to me;
"the salmon are coming up the stream from the sea."
The small net was plunged into the water between the two
canoes, and nearly each time a large salmon was scooped out
and flung into one or other of the "dug-outs," where the woman
sitting at the stern crushed its head with a large stone. If a
fish escaped, yells of indignation, especially from the women
folk, broke out from the boats, to be echoed by the high white
● [241] cliff. Both men and women were naked, and the dexterity
and speed with which they paddled their canoes down the
stream, working the coarse net at the same time, seldom
missing a fish, was simply marvellous. On the other hand, it
must be remembered that fish were so plentiful in the river,
that it was really easier to catch than to miss. In wading the
Shikarubets (river) I could see large salmon passing me by
the dozen, and I felt quite uncomfortable when some large
fish either rubbed itself against or passed between my legs.
We got across the Shorui-washi—literally "very burning a
place to stand"—and having then gone far enough from the
Shikarubets Otchirsh to see the whole of it, I managed to take
133 a good sketch of it. Near this river are some hot springs,
called Nishibets, from which the river has taken its peculiar
name. The easiest way to the Otopke Mountain is to follow
the valley between the Shikarubets and the Otopke River, and
then climb the mountain on the north-east side. The latter
part of the journey is extremely rough and difficult. Watanabe

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing 142
that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken 114
information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance
with the facts. One thing that has misled most people as 184
regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to
cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial
observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy
from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and
have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited 114
the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group 184
of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. 291 ●
Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form,
and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird-
skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented [237]
with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge
was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at
the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up
to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion
skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs
and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few 114
and migratory, and carried with them all their property when 184
migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

---

[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

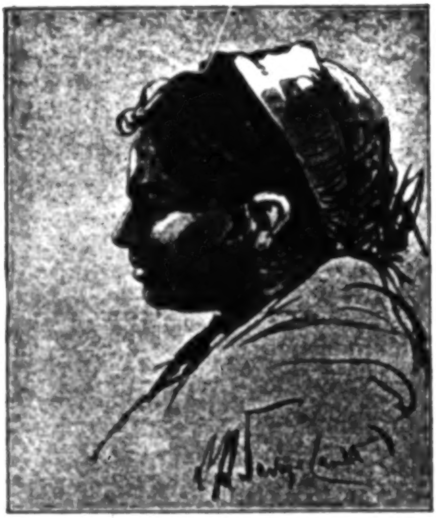
Oakan River. The Oakan joins the Kutcharo River not far 133
from the sea.

The descent was easier than the ascent, and I put up at
a small tea-house, the only one in the place. The landlord
promised to get me a good pony early the next morning, but,
like a true Japanese, he did not keep his promise. He called
me at 5 A.M., saying that the pony would be ready in a few
minutes, and at 9 A.M. the quadruped had not put in an
appearance; and after numberless excuses, compliments, bows,
and lies, the landlord acknowledged that no ponies were to be
had. I gave my luggage to a railway *employé*, who undertook
to bring it back to Shibetcha, and I started on foot for Lake
Kutcharo. From Yuzan a track across the mountains goes
due north to Abashiri, on the north-east coast. I went in a
south-westerly direction, and as on the previous day from the
summit of Yuzan I had noted the position of Lake Kutcharo,
I had no difficulty in finding my way there; in fact, I came
upon a small Ainu track leading to it. A delightful walk of 361
ten miles in the forest took me to the Ainu village of
Kutcharo, on the borders of the lake of the same name. The [184]
village is a miserable one; it differs from all other Ainu [342]
villages in its huts, which have semicircular roofs instead of
angular ones, as is the case with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and
of the Saru and Tokachi Rivers. I entered some of the huts,
and in a few minutes I was surrounded by the small population—I
daresay about twenty souls, all included—whom I
led out into the open air to see what they were like. They 189
appeared to me smaller than other Ainu, and their bones were
less massive; they were not so hairy, and more inclined to [142]
baldness. Their garments were wretched, and resembled [291] ●
those worn by the Tokachi Ainu; namely, a few rags held
together one could scarcely say how. Women were tattooed
on their lips and arms, but less extensively than are those of [304]
other tribes, and the tattooing was not so accurately done.

Other Ainu whom I met in the forest in the neighbourhood 184
of this village bore the same characteristics, and everyone
seemed to be curiously melancholy and depressed. An Ainu 152
existence is certainly not one's ideal of comfort and hilarity,
but their gloom and melancholy seem to me to be purely
racial and congenital.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

142
302
291●



AINU WOMAN OF KURILE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XII.

The Kurile Islands.

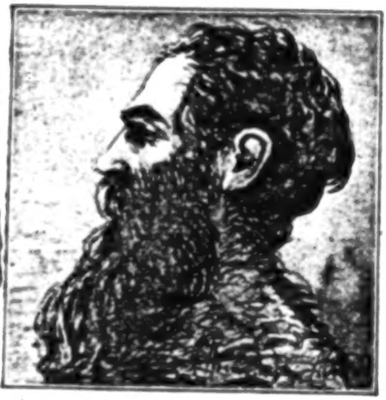
FROM Nemuro I put to sea in a miserable little Japanese craft—a kind of tug-boat—which once or twice a year goes to the principal islands of the Kurile group, and brings back their products to Nemuro. It is needless to say that I was the only passenger on board, though it is fair to add that the saloon was large enough to "accommodate" two, but not more. As for the only cabin, it had two berths, one over the other, but no available space for dressing or undressing, which therefore had to be got through outside, unless it was to be done by instalments, lying down in the berth itself. I shall spare my readers a minute description of this "ocean clipper," her tonnage, and horse-power, and I shall not attempt to narrate the many disadvantages of travelling in a ship engaged in the fish-manure, dried-fish, and sea-weed trade. These three very strongly scented articles speak for themselves without the need of words. 000

[P. 121]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

184 rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

559 Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor 648 wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, 182 whence they were taken.



SHIKOTAN AINU.

221 The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims [142] in life, their only pastimes, [302] the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

262 The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of 184 bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed •291 by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short 184 tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist, with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, 291 ●
is tied round the neck and another round the back of 184
the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants.
As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of
a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of
puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women
wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the
fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu
of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache 301
tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very 304
few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for 184
that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they
possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal 301
ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly- 199
coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with [439]
the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at
Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and
overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous 648
to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid 302
Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to
trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by
the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these
nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was
complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed
was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu
became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main 199
occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, 193
is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the
duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his
Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His
house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand
side when the village is entered from the harbour side, 199
and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood 346
instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two 793
rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one
of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is
a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks.
Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in
rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

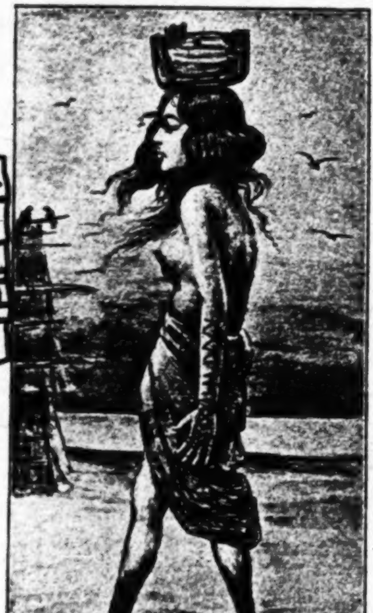
The children wear long gowns similar to those of the 184
women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair [291] ●
hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men
and women possess good features, more resembling those of [144]
European races than those of Mongolian type. They are
gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, [157]
and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and 000
it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I
judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles.
Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less
interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race
found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; [166]
therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one 000
hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch
is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. [139]
Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

574
609
spot on her upper lip. She walked a few steps forward, and when she saw me she stopped. She looked at me and I looked at her. Hers, with her soft eyes, was one of those looks which a man feels right through his body, notwithstanding all the self-control he may possess. There she stood, a graceful silhouette, with a bucket made of tree-bark in one hand and a vine-tree rope in the other, her supple figure almost motionless, and her eyes fixed on me. She was the most lovely Ainu girl I had ever come across, and not nearly so hairy as most of them. Indeed, in that soft twilight, and her wavy long hair blown by the fresh breeze, she was a perfect dream.

[482]
[304]
[142]
[302]
[291]



AN AINU BELLE.

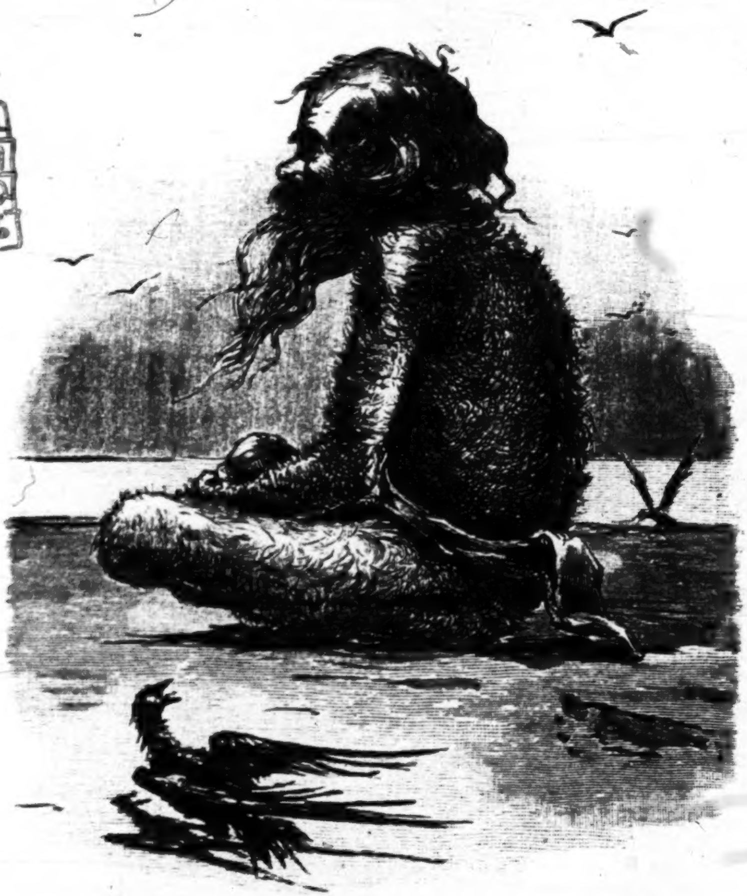
"Wakka!" ("Water!") cried an angry old voice from inside the hut, interrupting the beginning of our romance, and she sadly went to the brook, filled her bucket with water, and took it into the hut. It was only a few seconds before she reappeared, and came closer, and I finished the sketch somewhat hurriedly.

832
609
574
"Let me see the tattoo on your arm," I asked her, and to my surprise the pretty maid took my hand in both her own, gave me one of those looks that I shall never forget, and her head fell on my shoulder. She clutched my hand tightly, and pressed it to her chest, and a force stronger than myself brought her and myself to the neighbouring forest. There we wandered and wandered till it grew very dark; we sat down, we chattered, we made love to each other; then we returned.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

123
158
brushes in order to take his likeness. I had till then relied on my power of "willing" people, when my host, seizing the opportunity of my turning my head away for one moment,

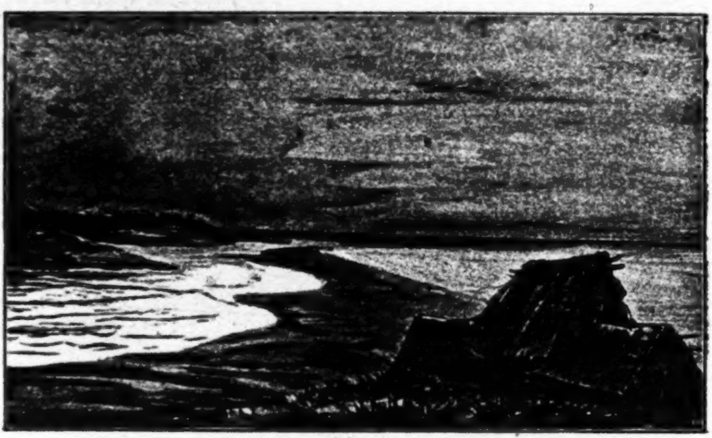
142
291
302
136



MY HOST, THE MADMAN.

grabbed the stone which he had picked up, and threw it with great force at me. I was hit in the ribs, and was hurt sufficiently to lose my temper. I went for him, and gave him a sound thrashing, which sometimes has more effect than all the "willing" in the world. He became docile after that, and I took him outside and forced him to squat down.

133
342



SARUBUTS, SHOWING RIVER-COURSE ALTERED BY DRIFT SAND.

CHAPTER XV.

On the North-East Coast—From Poronai to Cape Soya.

000 It was late in the evening when I arrived at Poronai.[1] Saruru, the last village I had passed, had only six Ainu and three [361] Japanese huts, and the nine or ten miles between there and this place were most uninteresting. I was taken across one of 491 the quicksand rivers in the ferry by a lovely Ainu girl of about ●291 twelve years of age. I have never seen a more picturesque being than she was. She was partly dressed in skins, but half her chest was bare; her wildly-curled black hair fell over her [302] shoulders, and while gracefully paddling across the ferry she occasionally threw back her head, thus shaking back the hair that the wind had blown over her eyes.

142 I have often noticed how supple the children of savages are, and how like in ease and grace and unconscious rhythm their movements are to those of wild animals. Sometimes, to be sure, they have the jerky, quick, and ungraceful movements of monkeys, but as a rule their actions are unconsciously graceful. Of course, with our children such unconscious grace is rare at any time, even when found at all, as from the day when they

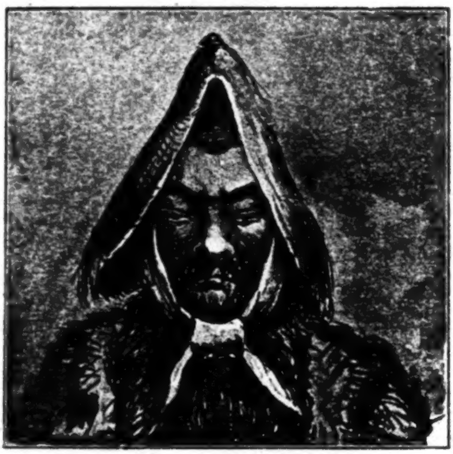
---

[1] *Poro*, large; *nai*, stream.

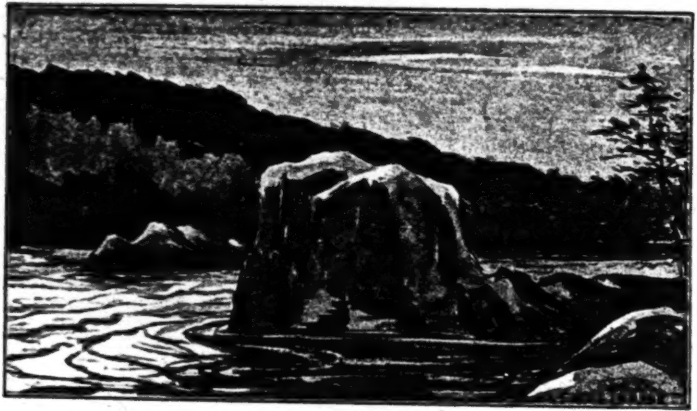
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

010 ternal will. Kutambets is picturesquely situated in a large gully formed by a break in the red-tinted cliffs. From Kutambets to Moroi the track is slightly better, and from this to Ishikari it is quite easy. The latter river, a very large one, has to be crossed by a ferry, as the habitations are on the south banks of the stream.

291
192



ISHIKARI KRAFTU AINU.



133

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

On the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an 361
Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives 167
of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government
from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the
Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another 000
wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the
mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the 142
Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, 184
"Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is
of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes
and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian
type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their
eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose.
Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and [164]
the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The 304
women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of
the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted 291 ●
Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 177

---

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

291 177 Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of 531 tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds 893 of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all. 301 Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu 764 are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

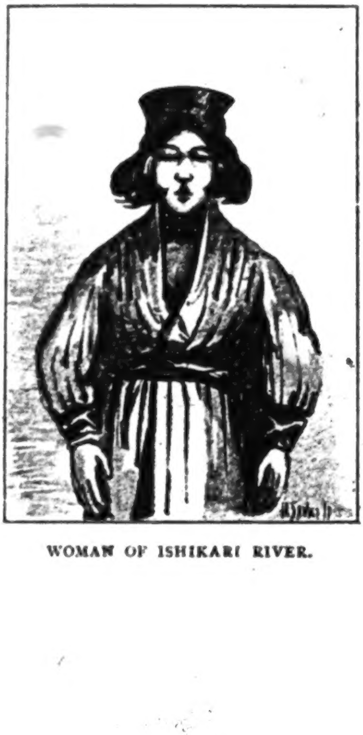
080 a wish that I should inspect the prisons. A splendid horse was sent to convey me thither, and two policemen helped me on my progress through the buildings, owing to my inability to walk more than a few yards at a time. It was a large walled enclosure, with houses for the officials and cells for the *akambos*, a jocular term, meaning "babies," which is applied to convicts, because they wear red clothes like children. The buildings were beautifully clean, but what astonished me most was that no precaution whatever was adopted to prevent convicts from escaping. The outside gates were all wide open; there were neither soldiers nor policemen at the gates, and, moreover, the *concierge* was himself a convict!

"But," said I, "do not many of these fellows escape?"

"Oh, no, not many. Last month only sixteen ran away," was the *insouciant* answer of my guide.

From Poronai-buts to Sappro there is a small railway, by which the coal trains are run to the coast as far as Otaru.

291
302



WOMAN OF ISHIKARI RIVER.

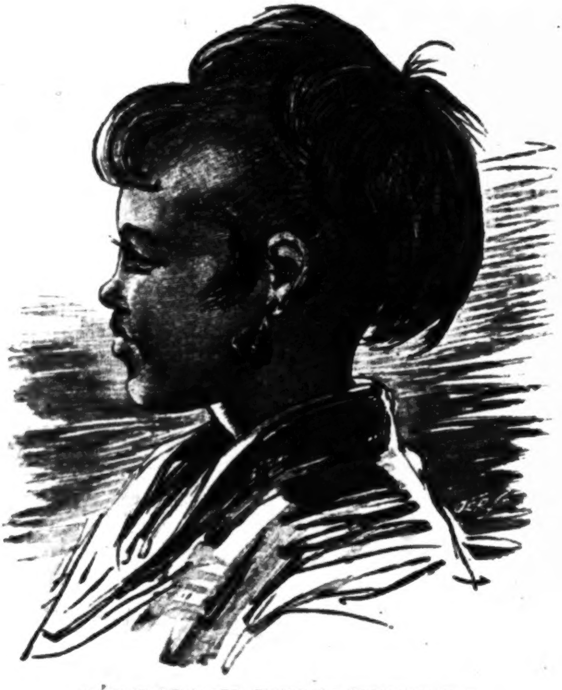
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000

of picturesque waterfalls over the high cliffs down on to the beach. As the beach was narrow, this meant each time a cold shower-bath, which, however, did not much matter, for I was already drenched by the rain, and I had no very "swell" garments to spoil, as my readers know.

Shitzo is an old-looking place, but there is nothing attractive about it. It is in a small bay sheltered by Cape Benke, but its anchorage is only fit for junks or very small skiffs. It is much exposed to northerly and easterly winds. The coast from Shitzo to the Cape is lined with rocky bluffs and cliffs of conglomerate and volcanic formation, with bare hills inland.

142
301
302
291

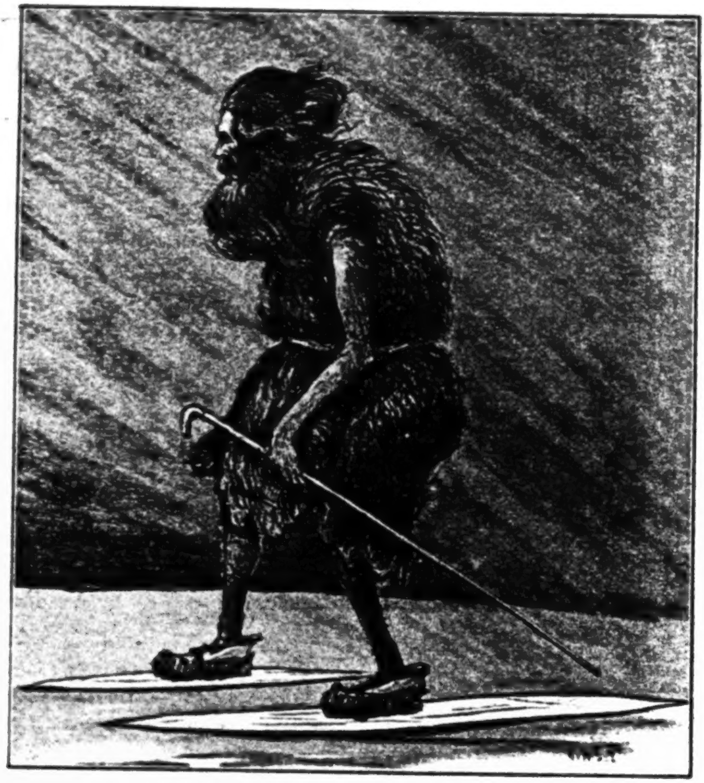


AINU HALF-CASTE CHILD OF VOLCANO BAY.

There are many reefs stretching out, both along the coast and off the Cape; but in many places channels are cut in them, to all appearance produced by some remote volcanic action.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

● 291
481
142



AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

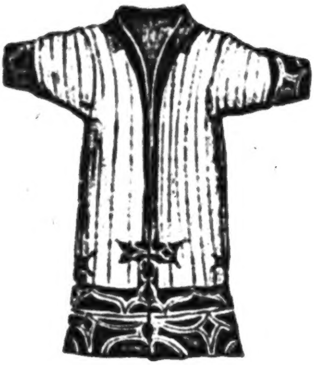
Movements and Attitudes.

147 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

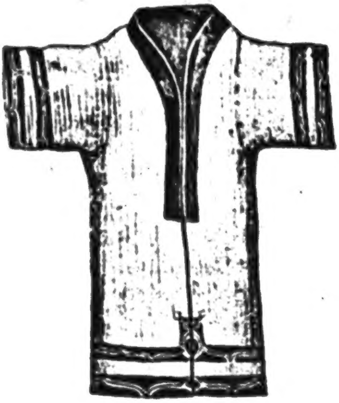
462
147
000 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

[p. 236]

291
177



THE ATZIS.

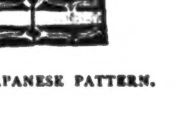


ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

CHAPTER XXIV.

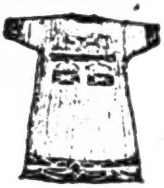
Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in 291 some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap [177] Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together [281] the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven [286] fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.



WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

[p.245]



BACK OF ATZIS.

291 On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either
177 adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atzis* after
the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters,
on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and
perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The
atzis reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body.
It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or
of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atzis* is ornamented
291 with embroidery both back and front,
177 round the sleeves, round the neck, and all
531 round the border, or, as we should say,
hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese
coloured cottons and threads. The colours
are invariably red, blue, and white, on a
background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris*
cloth. They have the same characteristic
patterns, and are identical with the ornaments
on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c.,
as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the
291 Ainu." Men and women wear *atzis* of the same shape, only
those of the women are longer than those of the men, and
reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are
294 embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable
531 for the women's, and *vice versâ*. Women—who, by the way,
562 do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the
simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches;
but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They
294 first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider
531 in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and
291 handsomer appearance to the male *atzis*. In winter the
sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atzis*, and, as has been
said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment.
[184] Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different
tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according
to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It
takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the
elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a
chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions
are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple
embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

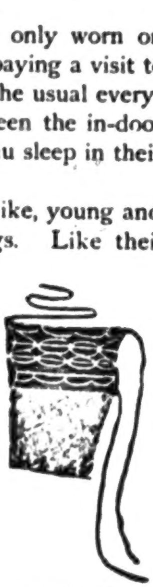
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the 291
back or front. 531

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour 294
while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the
result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching,
which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now
possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days [177]
they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed
Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of [283]
the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of
Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great
deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel
needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are
the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments [812]
fish-bone needles are often used up to this day.

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on 292
grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to
a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual everyday
costume, and no difference is made between the in-door [591]
and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their [513]
clothes, such as they are.

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and 291
old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their 287
gowns, these are sometimes made of the 531
inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would

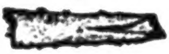


THE "HOSHI." 291

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291 soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping
over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the
sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this
293 inventory be added a headgear
consisting of a band
wound round the head,
and an occasional apron,
the whole of the Ainu
wardrobe is catalogued. This band,
which is worn principally by women,
[576] is untied and removed when saluting
or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A
[177] Japanese towel often
takes the place of the
[531] native manufacture. I
am inclined to think
that this custom of covering the head has been acquired
from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper
Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in
the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely
common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear
these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women
give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by
embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An
apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my
opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes
often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu
men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are
291 made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to
184 be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east
coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of
matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of
about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two,
and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and
passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as
a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn
301 than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring,
a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a
woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all
[213] things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

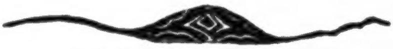
1



BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

2

DEER-SKIN SHOE.



THE TARKA OR HEAD-BAND.

301 pendants with bits of bone, metal, or broken beads inlaid in it, which hang to the necklace, rest on the breast. Large Japanese sword-hilts are often used as pendants by the Volcano Bay natives.

[184] The Ainu of the Upper Tokachi region had none of these beads, but a rough wooden pendant was suspended round their neck by a leather string.

293 Girdles are worn by men and women for two purposes—first, to keep their clothes together; next, to support the large knives which the Ainu always carry with them.

The Ishikari Ainu who lived formerly in Sakhalin wear leather belts, and the women wear besides a peculiar cloth [531] headgear. Both these articles are ornamented with drops of melted lead and Chinese cash sewn on to the cloth.

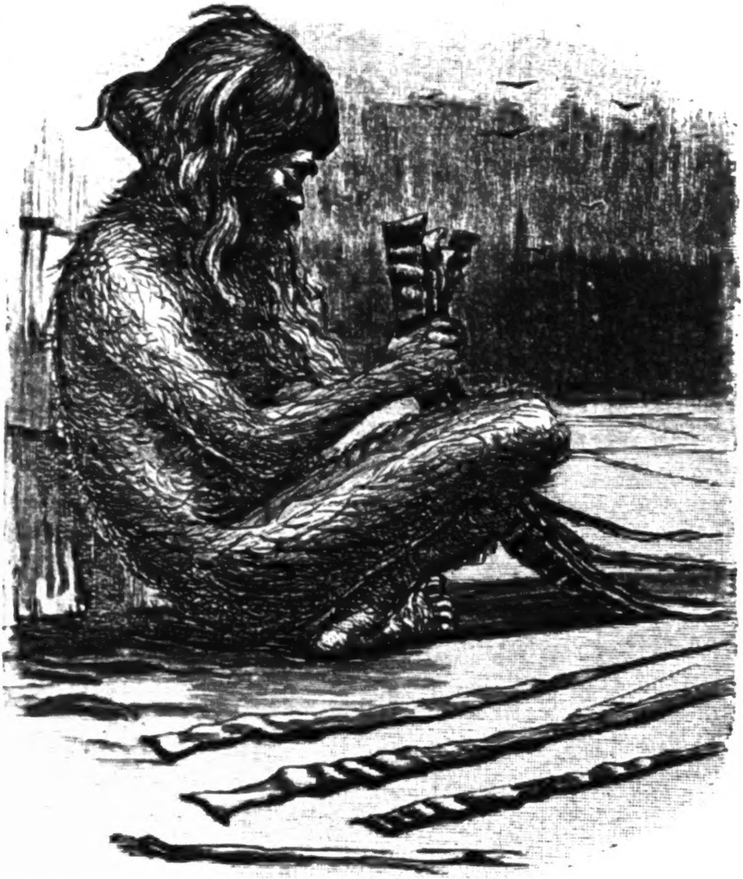
● 291 These are all the articles of clothing and ornament which [554] are in common use among the Ainu. None of them are worn as symbols of rank, or to denote virginity. No Ainu can explain why he or she wears one thing more than another, except for the reason that he or she likes it. There are no Ainu laws as regards clothing, and with the exception of the "chief," who on special occasions dresses more gaudily, and [622] wears a crown made either of willow-tree shavings or dried sea-weed, with a small carved-wood bear head in front, they all dress pretty much alike. A chief could not be distinguished from a commoner by his everyday clothing.

302 Speaking of personal ornamentation, I may as well describe the way in which the hair is dressed, and also the tattoo-marks.

Little care is taken of the long hair, which reaches down to the shoulders. It is never washed, nor brushed, nor combed. At the back it is cut in a semicircle round the neck. Over the forehead the men shave a small part of the long hair, which, falling over their eyes, is uncomfortable to them; but women do not. Until lately this shaving was done with sharp shells, and wives shaved their husbands. The process was said to be rather painful, and the thoughtful women have now adopted knives for that purpose, to the great delight of the stronger sex. The part shaved is in the shape of a lozenge two and a half inches by two inches respectively from angle to angle. This open space causes the hair to part in two different

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

291
302
516



NAKED AINU MAN FROM THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF YEZO, PACKING SEAWEED FOR WINTER USE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Physiological Observations—Pulse-beat and Respiration—Exposure—Odour of the Ainu—The Five Senses.

121 THE following physiological remarks are mostly from observations made on Ainu of the Upper Tokachi district, the natives of which have had no communication with Europeans and little with Japanese previous to my own visit to them. Observations made on the semi-civilised Ainu of Volcano Bay and

[p. 274]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the 121 Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration.

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other 127 instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the 128 normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to 147 a minute, ~~the~~ movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing.

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker- [391] work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a [177] Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered.

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, [142] and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so [513] after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long

149 hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

[515] The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. [151] Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru,*" or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The ● [041] weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth rags nearly all the year round, while in summer the men go about either entirely naked, or very lightly clad. 147 [391]

On the north-east coast of Yezo and in Shikotan (Kurile Islands) I saw some Ainu who, contrary to the rule, had red hair, and their animal odour was terribly offensive. The Ainu do not use any unguents like palm-oil, cocoanut-oil, or the like, by which the unpleasantness of certain African tribes and Eastern peoples is to be accounted for. What they have is natural and national, and due to their food, habits, and race alone. [142]

The Ainu have no partiality or dislike for any particular scents, and their sense of smell shows itself mainly in their power of tracking game or animals, as was said before. The same might be said of the sense of "touch," which they seldom apply practically, notwithstanding their sensitiveness in certain parts of the body, especially under the arm-pits and on each side of the spinal column and the back of the head—just those parts which in most animals are the most sensitive; but they have no developed sense of touch in their finger-tips, as with civilised nations. 151

Most Ainu find it difficult to declare which is the heavier of two not very unequal weights. Differences in the temperature of two bodies, and in the smoothness or texture of two surfaces, are also extremely difficult for them to define, while it is easy for them to judge of weights and texture by eyesight. The palms of the hands, which are so sensitive with us, owing to the papillæ being more thickly studded there than in other parts of the body, are less intelligently sensitive with the Ainu. When they touch cold or hot objects they feel pain, but not difference of temperature, as when with us a wound is touched it makes little difference whether it is by something hot or cold, it is simply pain, and not discrimination. Their lips, as well as the tip of the tongue, are slightly more sensitive; the lower lip more so than the upper. I was never able to determine the relative sensibility of the sensitive parts of the Ainu body, as my experiments either caused anger and impatience, or hilarity and mockery. If the first, the observations had to be stopped before they were well begun; if the second, beyond the general results which I have quoted, the answers were mere guesswork on their part, and therefore 125

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[191] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to
serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

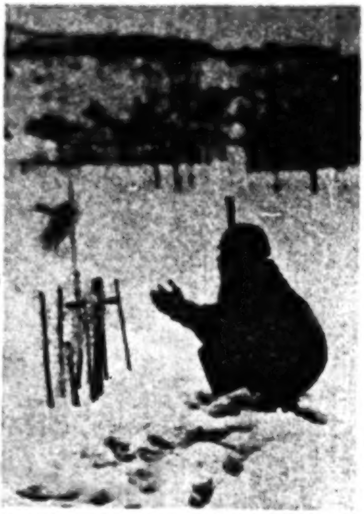
778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to
be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings
receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another
step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
● [291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea,
are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

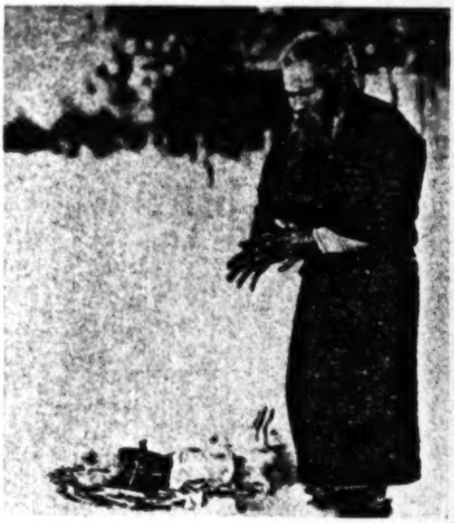
776
796
782

[516]

● [291]
[302]
[142]

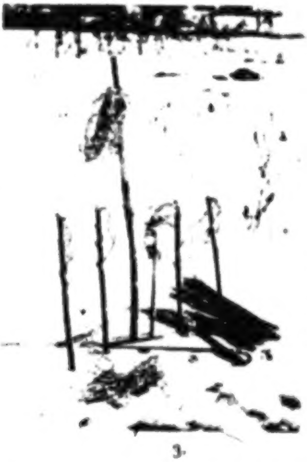


1.

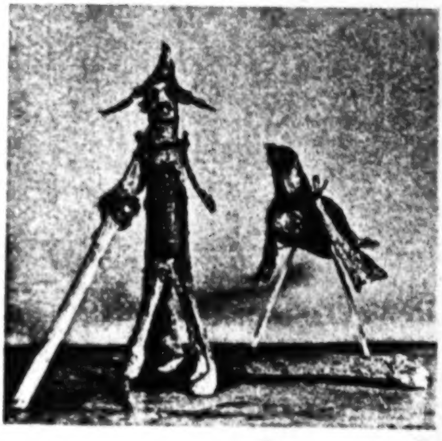


2.

[532]
→



3.



4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

342
353
354
516
302
291

[p. 30, (W)]

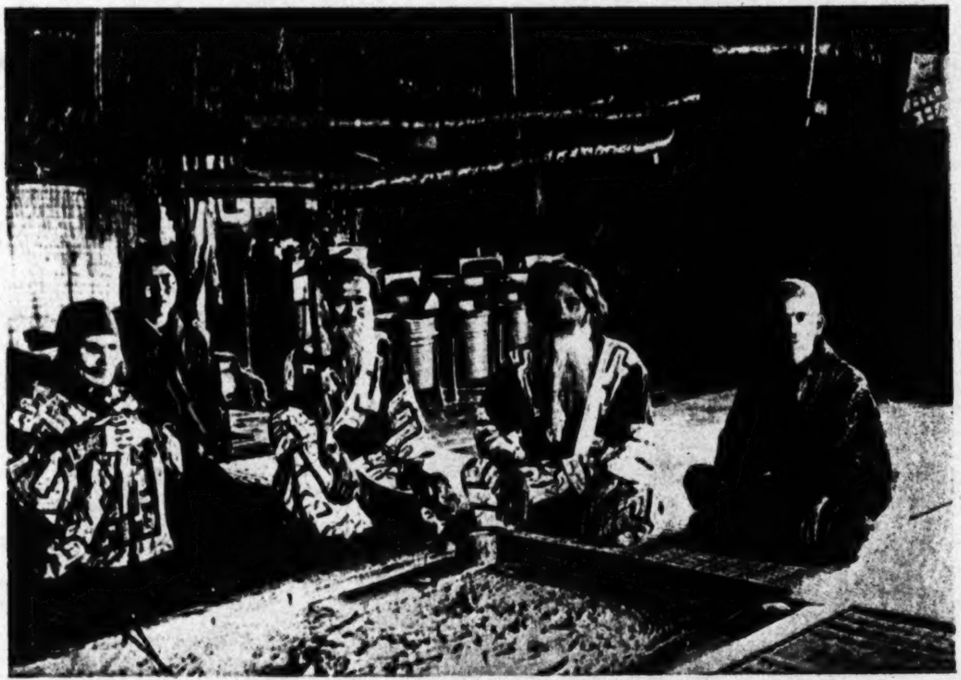
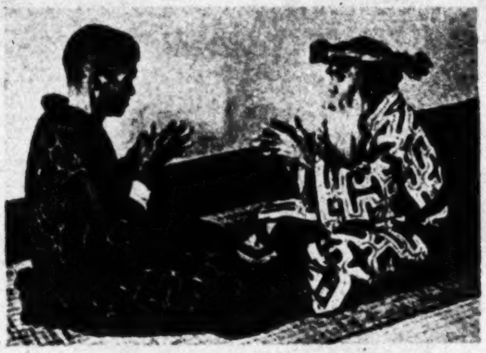
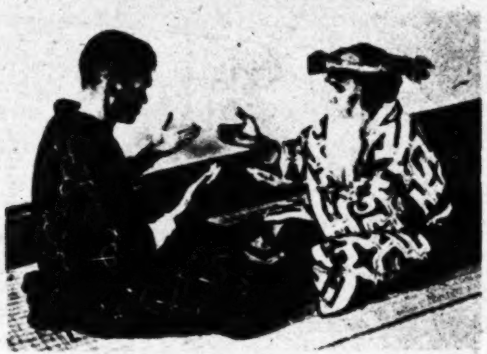


PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30,(0)]


1.

3.


2.

4.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*).

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *ekashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

576
516
291
292
302

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5(ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
527
●291
516
353
352
789

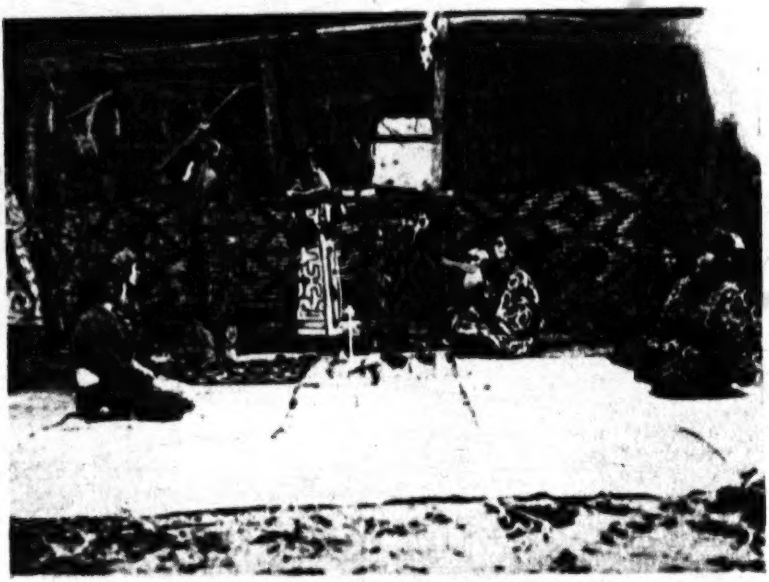


Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

574
796
516
264
114
353
352

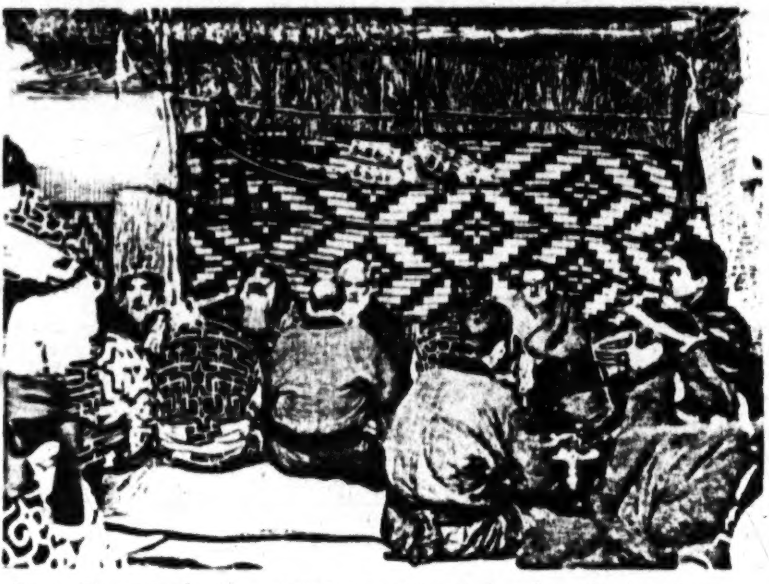


Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

755
●291
[531]

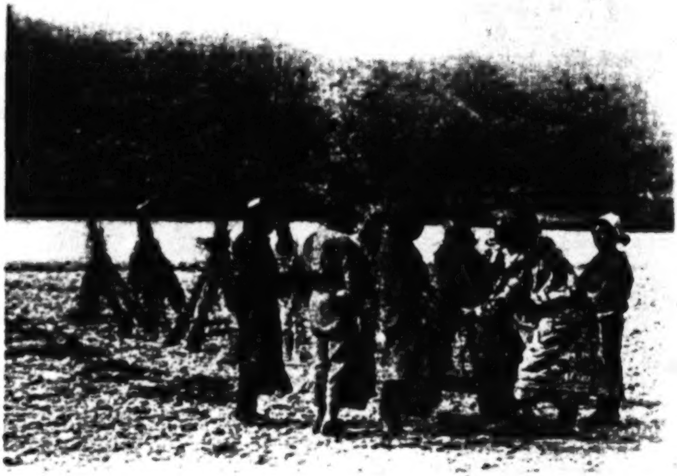


Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

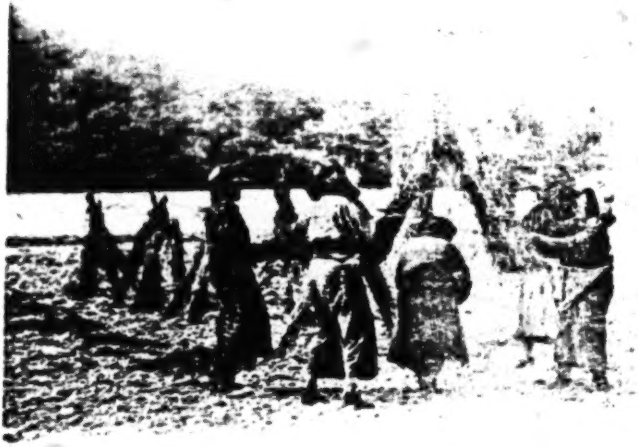


Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6
755F
291
778

[p. 78, (D)]

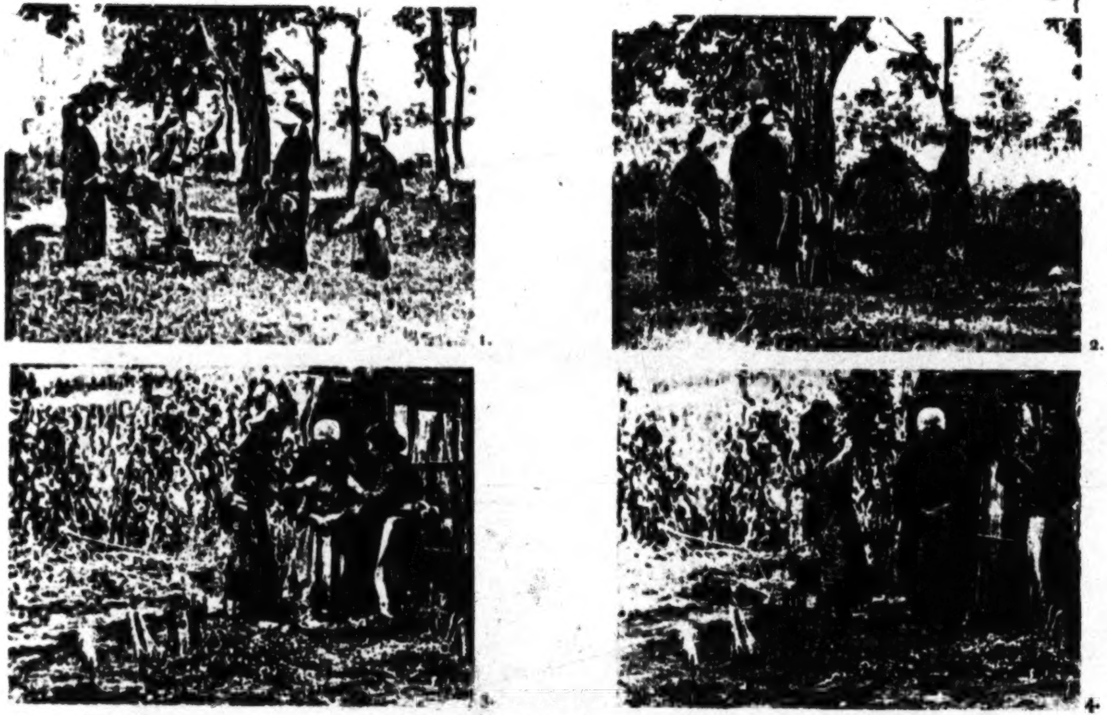


Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

755
291
133

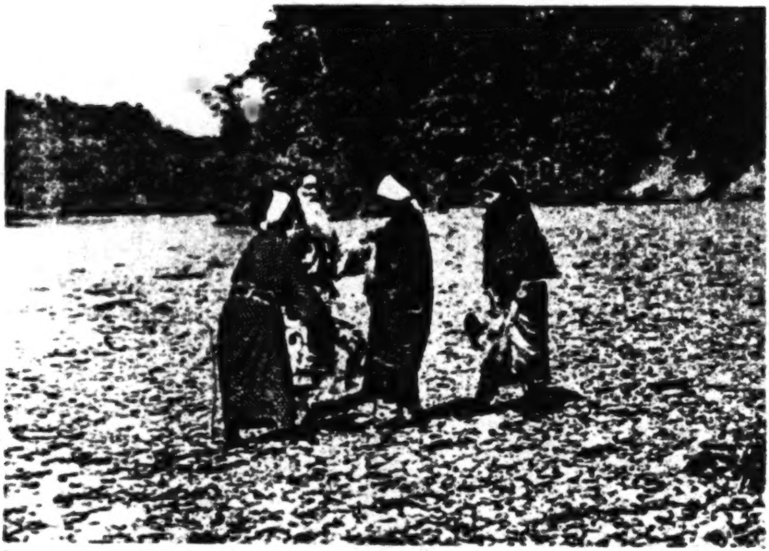


Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

415
291
845
755

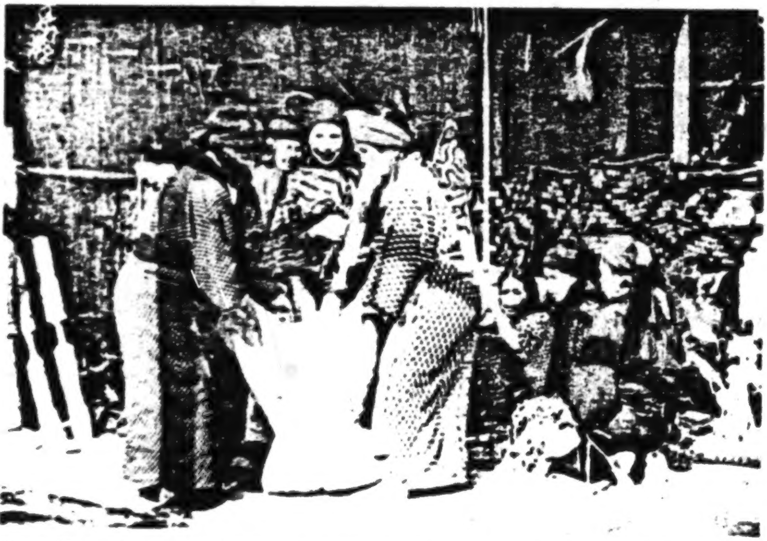
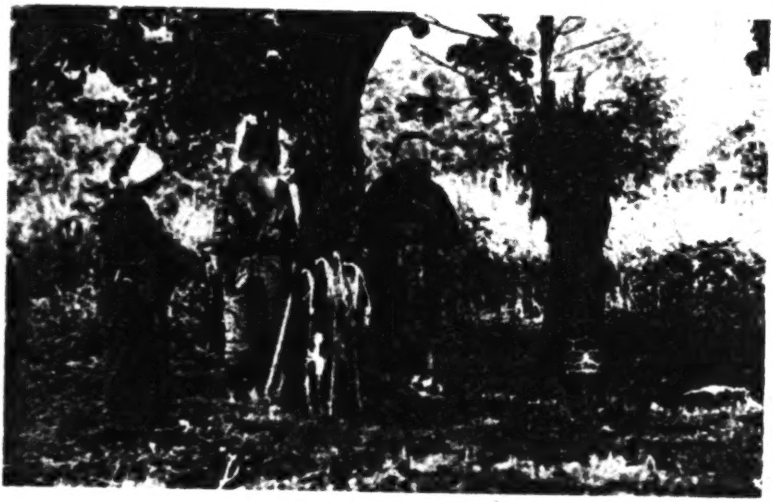


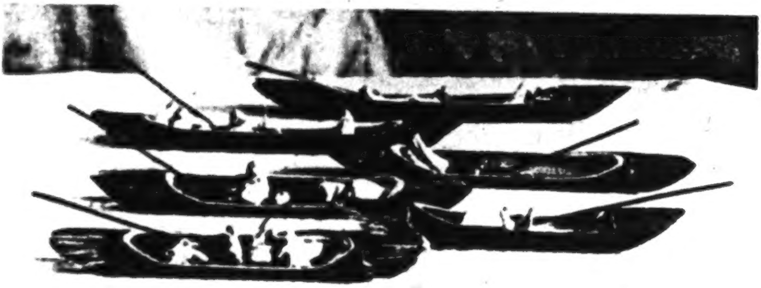
Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]



755
291 ●
292
531
778



755
[501]

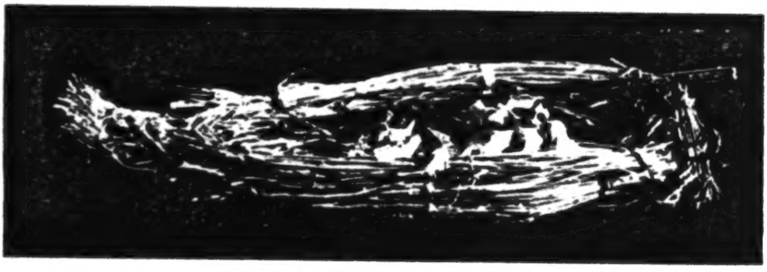


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

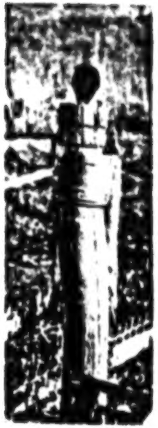
7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764
[775]
[789]

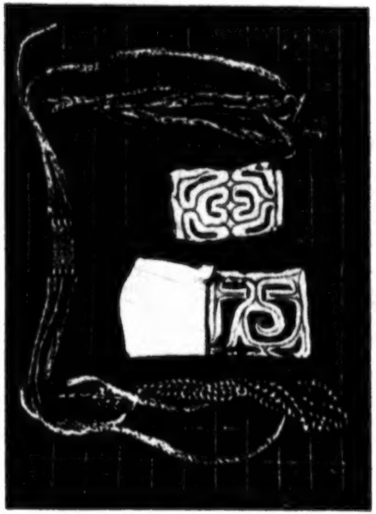
[301]
[291]
[531]

[p. 78, (H)]

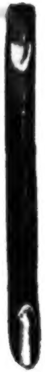
1.



2.



3.

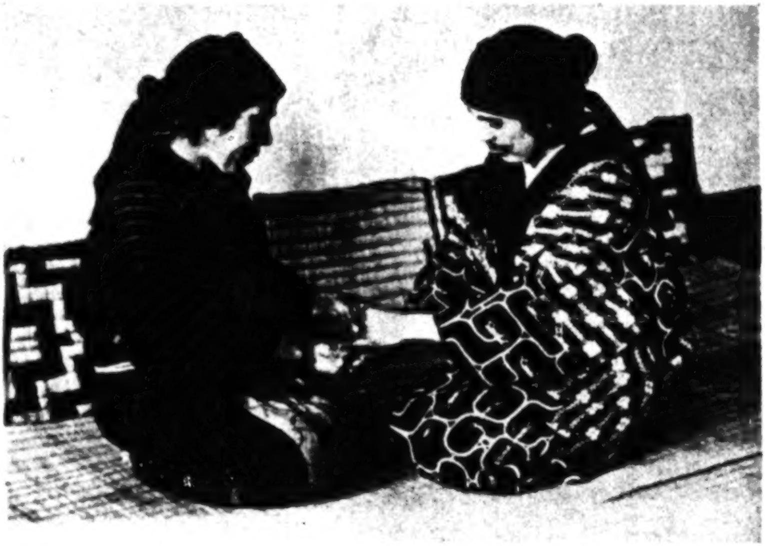


4.

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

142
291 ●
531
352
516
764
576



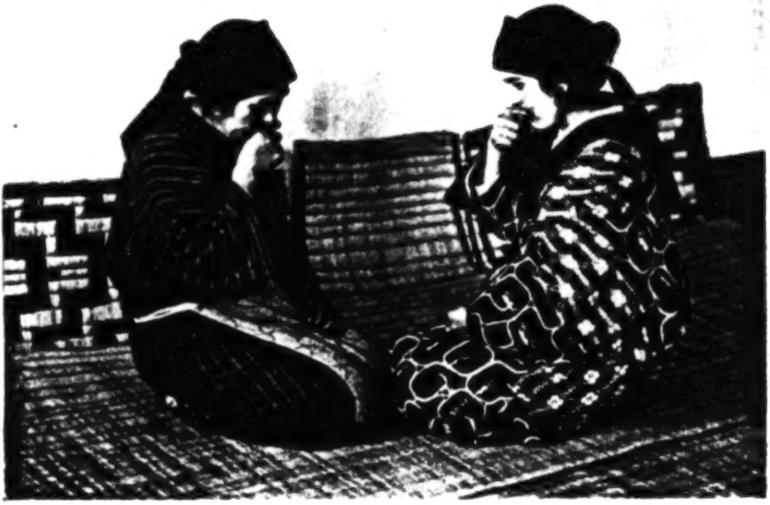


Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

342
535
●291
531

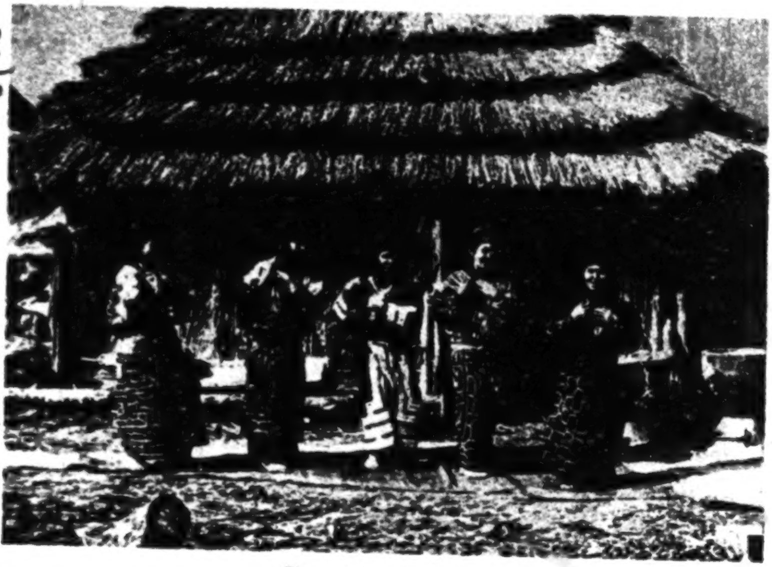


Fig. 1. Women's dance.

142
291
531
535

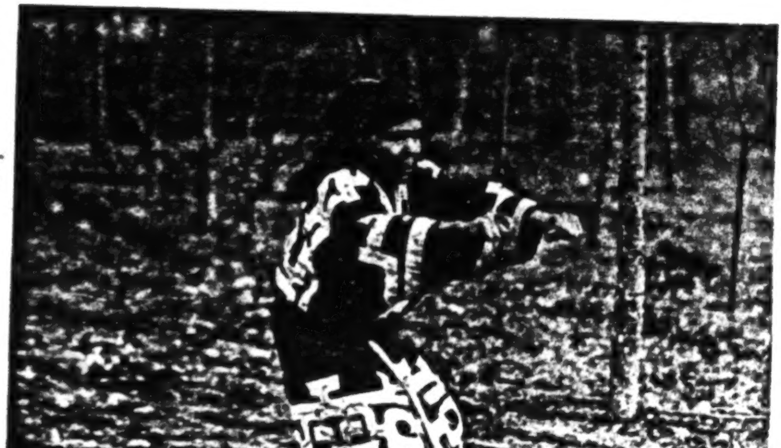
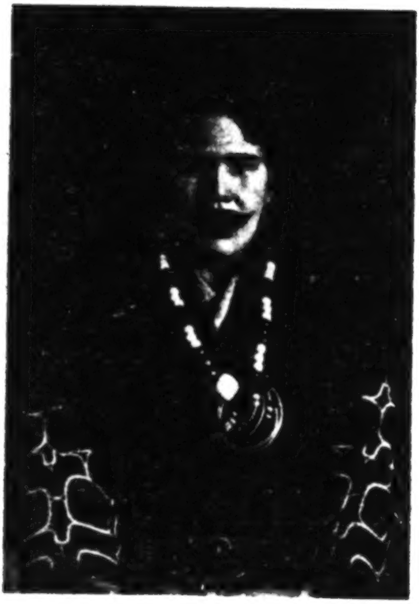


Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

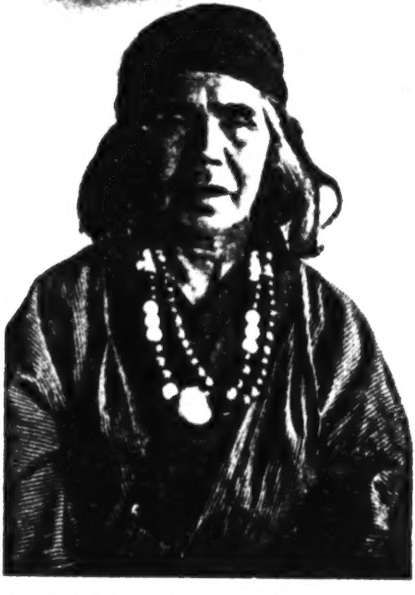
PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[[p. 78, (J)]



142
301
304
291 ●
115
531

Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

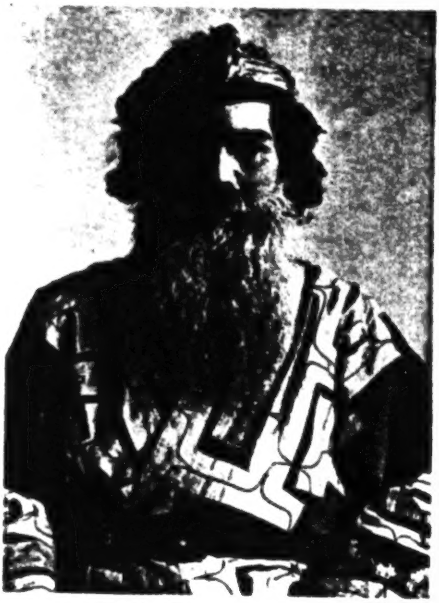


142
291
301
115

Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

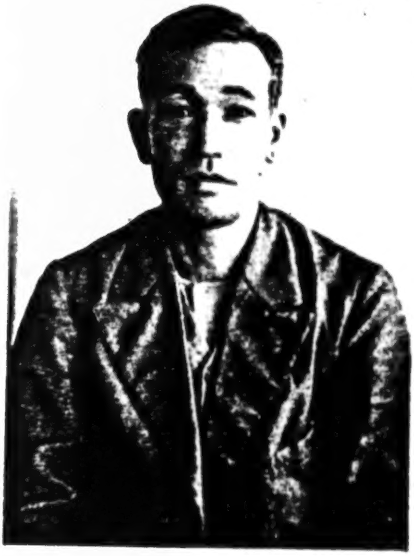
PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p. 78, (K)]



292
291 ●
302
142
531
115

Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.



142
302
291
115

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

764

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps [782] with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537] copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell [152] and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, [533] how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775] dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291] ● shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed [292] to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. [775] The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made 764 and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and 291 for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439] by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara, Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

---

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put 765 ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following 764 funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 765 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral 764
food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not 184
offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe- [262]
ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri,
called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide
it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and [776]
only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white
mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken.
The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They
differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as
amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave.
The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed,
that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard [177]
(*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give
her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common [264]
meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two
women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is
usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly
reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts [778]
differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed 765
take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but 184
don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that [291]
[302]

/769 cont./

847 heavy object. This procedure, however, though it has been practiced by a long line of generations, always remains highly dangerous for the woman and rarely ends unpunished. Old people told me that in youth they had often been witness of how this method of bringing about an abortion had only too often caused the death of the woman. I myself saw a very much degenerated woman who was almost always sick and who could never stand up straight. This woman died shortly after in my presence, and I was told that a few years earlier she had had an abortion by the method described by which she had ruined her health. Some old people told me that there were women who managed it so masterfully that they were able to kill the fetus in their body in this manner several times.

A second method of interrupting pregnancy is to lace the abdomen firmly above the waist during the first few months. The /770/ fetus disappears before the actual end of pregnancy, but in the months following a persistent pain remains in the sides. This method is considered very inconvenient since it is very difficult for a woman tied up in this manner to work. Much less can she take part in the passing flirtations for the sake of which she has resorted to these expedients.

To get rid of the fetus a woman will sometimes jump from a considerable height, for instance from the stairs that lead to the granary built on poles.

To the sympathetic, one can tell of another method, which in the belief of the Ainu women, is supposed to induce an abortion. The pregnant woman cuts her under garment in two up to the belt, (this under garment is like a chemise which [291] usually has the same length as the upper dress); she wears it cut in this way till the abortion has resulted. This technique is, however, not very widespread and it must be quite recent in origin since it was told to me only by one woman. The others who heard it were only surprised but did not confirm her statements. An old and probably often used method is rust, since [184] I heard of its use in the north as well as the south of the eastern shore. In the north they add a certain grass, but the men who

/328 cont'd/

172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place
[194] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the
● [291] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of
[177] Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177
493
174
Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on

/328 cont'd/

174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical
177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally
493 worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted
391 from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-
vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time
174 when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand, it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery. In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry, mentioned also by Mamia Riuso, had nothing in common with the clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments, the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including pottery.

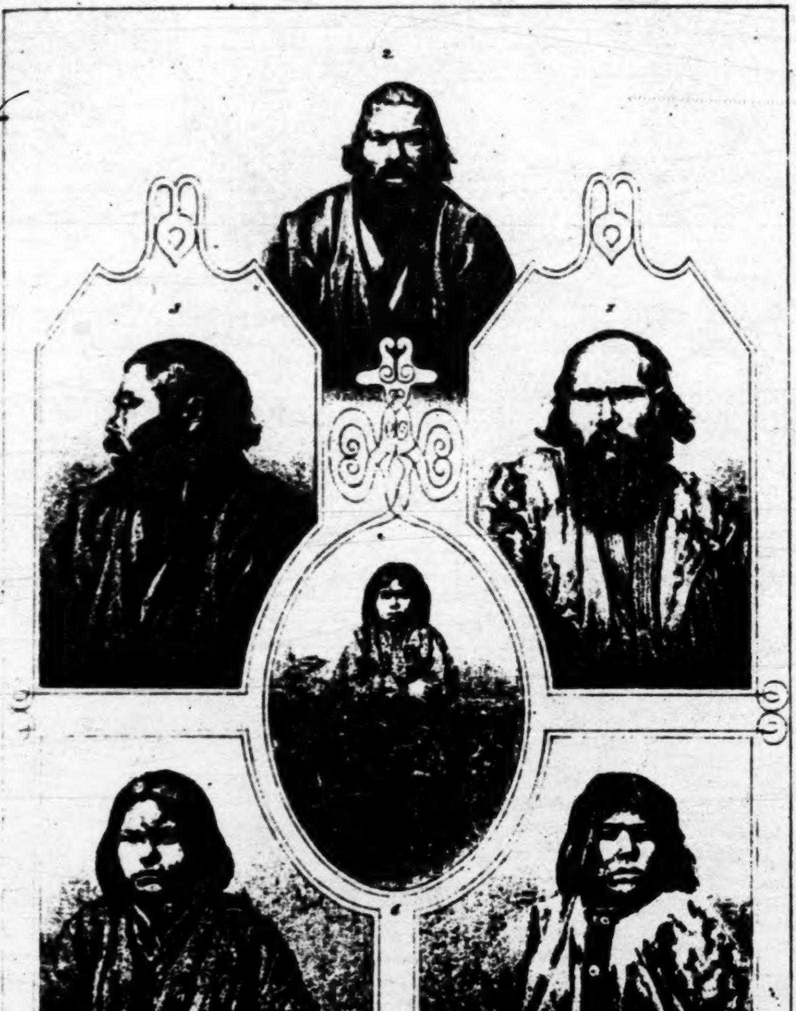
In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manufacture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu. But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu migration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

2: Schrenck--426 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

Ainu AB6

IV.

142
● 291
302



Ainu from Sakhalin: 1, 2, 3 -- Men; 4, 5 -- Women; 6 -- Boy

Goldi RX3
Orok
Ainu AB6

Gi /406 cont./
291 (Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in con-
294 nection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok
177 box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar
415 Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

A Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok
Gi also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might
177 therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities
291 many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

A I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to
291 add anything new to what has already become known from various
177 sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that
[114] though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as
[171] those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular
[439] dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to
A be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu
291 consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn
171 one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Olcha
Samagir

A 291 171 /406 cont./
straw or grass, and on muddy ground in the villages, wooden shoes such as are not used by either the Gilyak or any other Amur people (2).

Gi 291 184 Let us return to the mainland, to the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries. It is self-evident that the individual Samagir living among the Olcha on the Amur or on Lake Udyl in the closest proximity and in constant contact with them have the same clothing as they do. Along the Gorin, however, where they live in more isolation, in denser numbers, and under essentially different conditions, their clothing, too, shows considerable differences. /407/ Instead of fishing, here in the extensive forest wilderness, hunting plays the chief role and provides the people with their foremost means of getting food and clothing.

Gi [226] [224] [433] [114] Immediately upon my arrival, in March, 1855, in Ngagha, the chief center of the Samagir on the Gorin, I was struck by their clothing, which differs from that of the Olcha and Gilyak: instead of the dog-fur coats and sealskin robes, everyone was dressed in robes of elk or deer leather, indeed, even the women wore such leather robes instead of the fish-skin robes, usually with green-colored neck and shoulder pieces, which gave the robe a handsome and elegant appearance as long as it was still new and white. For a complete winter outfit a fur coat made of roe-deer, reindeer, or musk-deer skin is worn over it, which one never sees among the Gilyak only rarely and as an exception among the Olcha (1). Like the material, the cut of the clothing among the Samagir, in accordance with their way of life, differs in many respects from that of the Amur dwellers.

Gi [481] For the hunter roaming on ski through thick underbrush and bushes a short fur or leather robe with tight-fitting sleeves narrowing toward the wrists is required.

A [113] 2. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff. Busse, op. cit., p. 70. Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 27, 28, etc.

1. I never encountered a musk-deer coat even among the Olcha.